THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTIONS

IN

SWEDEN,

AND

PORTUGAL.

To which is added,

An ENQUIRY, Whether the Kingdom of FRANCE, from the Establishment of that Monarchy, Has been an Hereditary or Elective STATE.

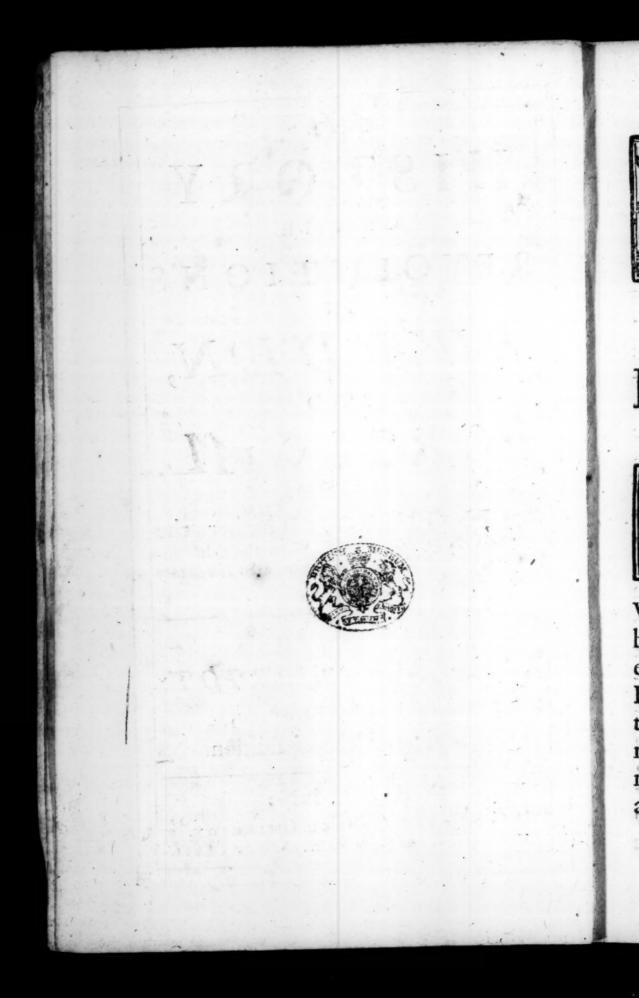
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By the Abbot VERTOT:

From the last French Edition.

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READER.



LL the Writings of the Celebrated Abbot DE VERTOT, have so long been the Admiration and Delight of the Polite

World, and so universally approved by all who have a just Taste for a fixed and impartial Adherence to Truth, Elegance of Stile, or Clearness of Method in an Historian, that there was no possible Way of improving this new Edition of his Works, but by adding to it some of his Writings,

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which

which the World is not yet so well

acquainted with.

And furely, whoever reads the Difsertation at the End of this Volume, will readily allow it to be worthy a Place with the other Works of this Author; and that few of his Countrymen, but himself, could have written it; for who but he, who, in a Popish Country, in the Midst of Crowds of powerful vindictive Prelates of the same Stamp, durst so freely expose the Tyrranny, Treasons, and Usurpations of the Swedish Clergy, and generously relate all the Virtues, and shining Qualities of that great Prince, who first introduced Lutheranism into Sweden, would have ventured, under the Tyrannical and Arbitrary Government of France, to affert the antient and fundamental Right of that Nation to elect their Kings out of the Royal Family, not according to their Birth-right, but as their Merits or the Exigencies of the State might require? who but

To the Reader.

but that Candid and Ingenuous Author, would have told such daring Truths; or thought of giving a just Idea of their own original Liberties, to a People for so many Years wholly devoted to Slavery, where the blind and nonsensical Principles of indefeasible Hereditary Right, are interwoven with their very Beings, and looked upon as the indisputable Essentials of their Constitution?

It must be no small Pleasure to all true Lovers of their Country, to find so Learned and Judicious an Author, proving the Antient and Original Government of France to have so nearly resembled our own excellent Constitution; and to see, That the Conduct of these Nations in the late Revolution, and the placing his present MAJESTY on the Throne, is not only conformable to Reason, and the Nature of Things, but was likewise the universal avow'd Practice of all those

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To the Reader.

those Brave and Warlike Northern Nations, who put a final Period to the usurped Grandeur of the Roman Empire; and were the Founders of all the most flourishing Kingdoms in Christendom.



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The TRANSLATOR's

PREFACE.

Readers, who are not desirous to be either diverted or instructed, the Translator presumes that he

may spare himself the Trouble of recommending a Book which is so admirably well sitted to both these Designs, and will infallibly satisfie those who expect either Pleasure or Ad-

vantage by perusing it.

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'Tis generally suppos'd to be written by the Abbot VERTOT; whose former Performances in this Kind were receiv'd abroad with the unanimous Approbation of the best Judges, and have justly entituled him to the Character of an Excellent Historian. But tho' fuch as are acquainted with his other Works will be always ready to do Justice to his Merit and Reputation, those who reflect upon his Nation, Religion and Profession, and consider how frequently and grossly the Publick has been abus'd with Romances, under the specious Title of Histories, will be apt to suspect the Credit of his Relations, and fancy themselves in Danger of being impos'd upon by the impudent Forgeries of a Maimburgh or a Varillas.

It must be confess'd, that such Prejudices as these are so far from being Groundless Suspicions, that they are the natural Confequences of a prudent Caution. But fince it would be equally unjust and inhumane, to condemn a Man for the Fault of another, our Author may reasonably defire his Readers, to suspend their Judgment till they have examin'd his Book, which is the best Apology that can be made for him: For they will foon find a more than fufficient Number of convincing Proofs of his Innocence and Integrity, and be oblig'd to acknowledge that his Exactness and Impartiality are as conspicuous as the Clearness and Solidity of his Judgment. He penetrates into the deepest Mysteries of State, and discovers the hidden Springs that put all the Wheels in Motion. He omits nothing that may serve to illustrate or embellish his Subject; and never inferts any thing that is either impertinent, or beneath the Regard of a Historian. His Characters are just and lively, his Digressions few and useful, and he is every where confistent with himself. He represents Tyranny and Oppression in their native and ugly Form; and exposes the Avarice and Ufurpations of the Church and Court of Rome, with as much Freedom as he cenfures Luther and his Followers. Buch Plain-dealing and Ingenuity may be look'd upon as Prodigies, in a Book that is printed at Paris, dedicated to the Chancellor of France, and written by a French Abbot. And fuch rare and excellent Qualities may, in some Measure, atone for the Harsh-

Harshness and Severity of his Reflections upon the First Reformers; and will certainly oblige all moderate Persons to pardon an Error, that must be reckon'd among the Prejudices of Education, and perhaps was only intended as a Blind to cover him from the Resentment of the Court and Clergy, who might probably be offended at some bold Strokes in his Work, and conclude that the Blow was really aim'd at them.

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The Story describ'd in this Book is so uncommon, and attended with fuch improbable, and even almost incredible circumstances; the Churacters of the Principal Actors are so extraordinary, especially of the two contending Princes, who feem equally to exceed the usual Bounds of Humanity, tho' on very different Accounts, the one being as far below, as the other is above the common Level of Mankind: The Turns are so unexpected, and disclose such surprizing Scene's, that the Reader can hardly forbear fuspecting that he owes the whole Entertainment to the Fancy of the Author, and has only been diverted with the fictitious Adventures of a Fabulous Hero. But the Truth of the Swedish Revolution will never be questioned by those who consider that the History of the prefent Age, and even our own Experience, may furnish us with Examples of no less wonderful Events; as it appears evidently by the following Instances.

Since no Man can be suppos'd to be capable of forgetting the late memorable Transactions

in this Kingdom, 'twould be a ridiculous Piece of Nicety to dispute the Truth of even the oddest and most improbable Circumstances of K.

Christiern's Flight and Abdication.

The Story of the Massacre of Stockholm will not be condemned as a Fable; nor the unmanly Barbarity of that Prince, in murthering a whole Parliament, be reckon'd too black a Crime to be fasten'd upon a Crown'd Head, at a Time when we have Reason to believe that there are some Princes in Europe who scruple not to consent to, and even encourage the Assassination of a Sovereign.

No Man who is acquainted with the Amours of a Monarch, who makes at present a very great Figure in the World, will be surprized at the Character of Sigebrite, and the Extrava-

gant Passion of her unfortunate Lover.

To conclude the Parallel, the undanted Courage, steady Resolution, admirable Conduct, generous Magnanimity, and all the other Peaceful and Military Virtues, which are fo eminently remarkable in all the Actions of that Great Prince, who may be justly stiled the Deliverer of the Swedish Nation, the Establisher of the Reform'd Religion, and the Restorer, or rather the Founder of the Monarchy of that Kingdom, will perhaps be look'd upon as a Combination of Prodigies, and fill the Mind of the Reader with an agreeable Amazement; but cannot appear incredible to those who have the Happiness to live under the Dominion of a Hero, whose matchless Bravery, and inimi-

inimitable Virtues, darken the fainter Glory of

Gustavus's Reign.

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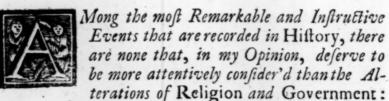
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The Kindness of the Publick, in youchsafing fo encouraging a Reception to this Book, at its first Appearance in our Language, asit can only be reckon'd an Effect of their Justice, if we consider the Usefulness of the Work, and the Merit of the Author; fo it must be acknowledg'd as a Favour, if we reflect upon the Faults of the Translator. The Translator is very senfible of so considerable an Obligation; and, as a Mark of his Gratitude, has endeavour'd to render this Impression less Imperfect than the former. He has made a New Translation of the French Author's Preface, and of the Second Part from p. 45 to 114, which, as he intimated before, were done by other Hands; but had not Time to compleat the Work, by altering the End of the First Part. He would not have given himself so much Trouble, if he had not thought he cou'd improve the former Translation, and hop'd that his Alterations wou'd be reckon'd Amendments: But fince he dares not infift upon fo nice a Subject, he fubmits his Performance to the Judgment of the Reader, and only thinks fit to advertise him, that he will, at least, be fure of this Advantage, That his Entertainment will be more of a Piece than before.



The AUTHOR's

PREFACE.



All the Members of the Society are concern'd in such a Revolution; and every Object that appears, serves either to alarm their Conscience, or to flatter and enslame their Ambition. Every particular Person is animated with the most active and lively Passions; and an universal Ferment puts the whole Body of the State into Motion. During the general Disorder, the People renew their Pretensions to that which they call their Primitive and most antient Right, and claim the important Privilege of chusing both their Master and their Religion. Their Choice is usually determin'd by the Prejudices that by as their Affections; and the Noble and Great are forc'd, on such Occasions, to court the Assistance of the Rabble, for the Carrying on of their secret Designs.

When the Historian is acquainted with the Art of adorning his Relations with all the Graces of Eloquence; when he can paint out every Circumstance to the best Advantage, and knows where, and how to lay the brightest Colours; when such an Author chuses such a Subject, the Reader may venture to promise himself all the Pleasure that can be expected from the united Beauties of Art and Nature. And if his Judgment be equal to his Fancy, the Result of both

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The Author's Preface.

will infallibly furnish us with an admirable Mixture of Profit and Delight, by a pathetick Description of the dismal Accidents that are usually either the Companions or Effects of such strange and surprizing Revolutions, by a faithful Representation of the Characters of the principal Actors, and by rendring those illustrious Persons all the Justice that is due to their Merrit.

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It will not be improper to anticipate the Curiofity of the Reader, by acquainting him, that the following History will present him with a View of the Swedish Nobility, distracted by intestine Divisions, seldom or never regarding their Duty to their Sovereign, extreamly jealous of the excessive Power of the Bishops, and envious of their exorbitant Riches. The Prelates incroaching upon the Prerogative, and usurping the Rights of the Crown; and often prophaning the Sanctity of their Character, in the Tumults of War and Rebellion. The whole Kingdom divided betwixt the contending Factions; and the neighbouring Danes fomenting their Divisions, cajoling one Party, and then attacking both. The Senate and Nobility massacred, the Commons reduc'd to a deplorable and almost desperate Extremity, and the very Foundations of the Monarchy shaken. A People without a King or Senate, without Officers and Soldiers; a Country without a Defender, and just ready to be made an unhappy Province of Denmark: When the Scene is suddenly chang'd by the Appearance of a Prince, whose Glorious Atchievements have eterniz'd his Memory, whose Posterity has been over since, and is now in Possession of the Crown, who by his Conduct and Valour expell'd the infulting Danes, and by an inimitable Policy, recover'd the Power and Revenues which the Clergy and Nobility had usurp'd, during the Reigns of his Predece fors,

Here

The Author's Preface.

Here a considering Person may observe, that those very Riches, which in the Guiltless Insancy of the Church, were at once the Glorious Testimony and the bountiful Reward of the Vertue and Piety of its Ministers, became in the latter and degenerate Ages the fatal Source of those Disorders, which were afterwards made Use of as a Pretext to deprive the Clergy of those Advantages which they had so grossy abus'd.

And here the Attentive Reader may behold an E-lective Kingdom, made Successive and Hereditary, by the Valour and Policy of a Prince, who cut out his Fortune with his Sword, who from a close Imprisonment in his Enemies Country, and a miserable Exile in his own, rais'd himself to the Throne, who alter'd the very Form of the Government, according to his Interest and Inclination, and was at once the absolute Master of his Subjects at home, and the Ter-

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ror of his Enemies abroad.

I have often reflected upon the Carelessiand Unfincerity of those who have attempted to write the History of Sweden: All the Accounts they have left us of those Transactions, are either very partial, or very lame; some of 'em disguise the Truth, and others leave us wholly in the dark, as to the Motives and Reasons that were the secret Causes of those Memorable Revolutions. But the Faults I observ'd in these Writers, serv'd only to quicken my Curiosity: The more obvious and unacountable the Contradictions I found in 'em, seem'd to be, the greater Care I. took to reconcile 'em; and the oftner I perceiv'd that these Authors had confounded Truth with Falshood, the more earnestly I labour'd to distinguish 'em from each other, and with equal Diligence endeavour'd to preserve -the former and avoid the latter. I made it my Business, for some Time, to fit my self for such an Undertaking, by an attentive Perusal of all those Historians, whether Swedes,

The Author's Preface.

* Swedes, Danes, Germans or French; Catho- *Ericus licks or Protestants. I read 'em without Prejudice Upsalienor Passion, and without any other Interest or Desire, rographia than to discover the Truth, and to communicate an ex-Scandinaatt Account of it to the Publick. And I think I may be vix Ada. allow'd to hope, without Vanity, that the nices Reader mi Brewill not accuse me of Partiality; a Fault which I al-Tumbæveways abborr'd, as absolutely inconsistent with the Can-terumapud dour and Ingenuity of an Exact Historian.

I have not always prais'd the Heads of the Catho-Gotholq; lick Party, because I could not without Injustice com-Regum. Exceesis mend all their Actions. It must be acknowledg'd, they de quinhad the good Fortune to support the Interest of those queprimawho profes'd the True Religion; but their External riis Sueco-Zeal was seldom accompany'd with a sincere and in-rum Goward Faith; and they were oftentimes less concern'd que antifor the Defence of their Religion, than for the Pre-quisemservation of the Riches and other Advantages it pro-poriis. Recured them.

Nor have I upon all Occasions, either blam'd or versus Pedespis'd the Heads of the Protestant Faction, because vum. Ja-I found that in several Cases, they deserv'd neither cobusZig-Censure nor Contempt. In a word, I have been scru-lerus testis puloufly careful to distinguish Error from Malice, and oculatus have always preserv'd a due Regard to the great En-Holmiendowments and admirable Qualities which GOD, as fis. Huitthe Author of Nature, bestow'd upon those whose feld. An-Minds he did not think fit to illuminate with the Know- nales Epilcoporum ledge of the True Religion. Slevincenfium.

Suecanz, Meffenii. Joannes Gothus Magnus. Olaus Magnus. Pontanus Saxo Grammaticus. Loccenius. Schefferus. Chytraus. Bazius. Buraus. Puffendorf. Vita Archiepisc. Upsa ensium. Crantzius. Vastorius. Noursius. Scandia illustrata Messenii. Antiquitates Suecogothicz Luccenii. Monsieur de Thou. Florimond de Remond. Varillas. Maimburg.

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king, ether edes, Since there are only Four of GUSTAVUS's Sons, and one of his Wives mention'd in the following History, 'twas pretum'd the vacancy of this Page cou'd not be better fill'd up than with a particular Account of his Wives and Children; that the curious Reader might be acquainted with the Domestick Affairs, as well as with the publick Actions of that illustrious Monarch.

Gustavus the Son of Eric, was chosen King of Sweden, Anno 1523, Crown'd 1528, and Dy'd 1560.

He was successively marry'd to three Wives, viz.

I. Katharine, the Daughter of Magnus Duke of Saxony; by whom he had his Eldelt Son and Successor.

Eric XIV. Born 1533, Crown'd 1562, Depos'd

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1568, Dy'd 1577.

II. Margaret, the Daughter of Eric-Abrahami of Loholm, Governor of West-Gothland, whom he marry'd Anno 1536; She made him the Father of these Children.

1. John, Born 1527, Crown'd King of Sweden

1569, Dy'd 1592.

2. Katharine, who in the Year 1550 was Marry'd to Ezard Count of East-Friezland.

3. Cecilia, Marry'd to Christopher, Marquis of

Baden, Anno 1564. 4. Magnus, Duke of East-Gothland, who dy'd 1592.

5. Steno, who dy'd young.

6. Anne, who marry'd George-John, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Bavaria, Anno 1563.

7. Charles, who dy'd an Infant.

8. Sophia, who was Marry'd to Magnus, Duke of Saxony, 1568.

9. Elizabeth, who Marry'd Christopher, Duke of

Mecklenburgh.

10. Charles, Born 1550, Crown'd King of Sweden, 1607, Dy'd 1611.

Queen Margaret dy'd 1551, and the next Year

Gustavus Marry'd his third and last Wife.

III. Katharine, the Daughter of Gustavus Olai, Baron of Torpa, and Governor of West-Gothland, by whom he had no Issue.



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WEDEN was antiently an Elective 1350.

Kingdom, and was still such about the Middle of the Fourteenth Age; for the the Children and nearest Relations of the deceas'd Monarch were usually ad-

vanc'd to the Throne, the Order of Birth-right was sometimes neglected, and the Succession was always determin'd by Choice. And by virtue of this Right of Election, the Swedes oftentimes claim'd a Power to Depose their Sovereigns, when they incroach'd upon the Liberty and Privileges of the Nation.

The Royal Authority was confin'd within very narow Limits; for the King could neither make War

without the Consent of the Senate, or of the Estates, when they were assembled: "Twas not lawful for him to erect new Forts, or to put the Government of the old Castles into the Hands of Strangers. The bringing of Foreign Troops into the Kingdom, would have infallibly expos'd him to the Danger of an Universal Revolt: For every thing that might serve to extend, or even to confirm the Prerogative, was hated and suspected by the People, who were as jealous of the Power of their Sovereigns, as of

that of their Neighbours and Enemies.

The Patrimonial Revenue of the Crown, confifted only in certain small Territories near Upsal, and in a very easy Tribute which was exacted from the Peafants by way of a Poll-Tax. In the Reign of King Magnus Ladaslasz, the Copper Mines, the Sovereignty of the three great Lakes, Meler, Vener, and Veter, and the Right of Fishing upon the Coast of the Baltick Sea, were by the Senate re-united to the Crown; and by the same Authority it was ordain'd, That they who had purchas'd untill'd Lands held in Fee. or a Right to Pasturage in the Forests, should afterwards pay those Duties to the Crown, from which they had freed themselves during the Civil Wars. Since by the Laws of the Kingdom, there were few Offences punishable with Death, the Fines and Forfeitures that were exacted on such Occasions, were of old a confiderable Branch of the King's Revenue; but the Bishops and Clergy had seiz'd on the Profits which accru'd that way, and perhaps colour'd their Injustice with a Pretext that these Fines belong'd to the Church, as a kind of Expiation or Atonement for the Crimes of the Malefactors.

The Fiefs, or Mannors, and the Governments of Castles, which at first were only granted for Life, or for a Term of Years, were insensibly chang'd to Hereditary Possessions: For the Noblemen who

enjoy'd

enjoy'd them, neglected the Payment of the usual 1282. Duties for those Posts, which they held by no other Title but their own Power, and the Weakness of the Crown. And the Bishops, and others of the Clergy, who were possess'd of such Places, made use of the plausible Pretext of Religion, to claim an Exemption from the Duties they were oblig'd to pay for those Estates which they pretended were devolv'd to the Church, and become Part of its Patrimony. Thus the Clergy and Nobility had, by several Usurpations, engross'd so great a Part of the Prince's Revenue, that the Remainder at that Time was scarce sufficient to The King was almost only maintain 500 Horse. confider'd as the Captain General of the State during the War, and as the President of the Senate in Time of Peace: 'Tis true, the former of these Junctures was always most favourable to the Prerogative, especially when the War was carry'd on with Success against the Enemies of the Nation; but the Conclusion of a Peace put a Stop to his growing Authority, and left him only a Power to call a Meeting of the Estates, to propose Matter for their Deliberation, and to execute their Decrees.

The Publick Authority was almost entirely lodg'd in the Senate, which was usually compos'd of Twelve Lords, who, for the most part, were Governors of Provinces, or Principal Officers of State. These Lords attended the King at Stockholm, the Capital City of the Kingdom, when any important Affairs were to be transacted. The Archbishop of Upsal, Primate of Swe- Lincopine, den, was a Senator by his Office; and the Six stregnez, Bishops of the Kingdom bore a great Sway in the Vesteras, Meeting of the Estates, tho' they had no Right to fit in Scara, the Senate, unless they were nominated by the King, Vexio. or chosen by the Estates during an Interregnum. The Dignity of a Senator was not hereditary, for the 1282, Nomination of those Officers was a Branch of the Royal Prerogative; and some of the Bishops, or B 2

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the King to supply the vacant Places, who by this Means, had a fair Opportunity to introduce his Friends and Creatures into the Senate. But he was frequently disappointed in his Choice, and, for the most part, lost a Friend when he made him a Senator; for the nearer a Favourite was advanc'd to his Master's Power and Authority, he was the farther remov'd from his Interest. And besides, the Love of Liberty and Affection to their Country, were in those Days the predominant Passions of the Swedes; nor could any Engagement or Obligation waken the Biass of so powerful an Inclination.

The Senate, which at first was only instituted as a Council to advise the King, had by degrees assum'd an Authority over his Actions. The eldest Senator pretended a Right to admonish and check the Prince, when he transgress'd the Limits of his Prerogative. The People look'd upon the Senators as the Protectors of the Liberty and Privileges of the Nation. The Sovereign Power and Majesty of the State was properly lodg'd in that Body: Their Justice was administer'd independently, and without Appeal; and both War and Peace depended on their Deliberations. Tistrue, they acted jointly with the King, but he was oftentimes oblig'd to content himself with the Honour of executing their Resolutions.

The Clergy were posses'd of greater Riches than the King and all the other Estates of the Kingdom. The Archbishop of Upsal and his Six Suffragans, maintain'd their Dignity with all the Splendor that a vast Treasure could enable them to display: They were, for the most part, the Temporal Lords of their Episcopal Sees; and besides the Possessions that were annex'd to their Bishopricks, which consisted in several considerable Signiores or Lordships, they had made themselves Heirs to all the Ecclesiasticks that died Intestate in their respective Diocesses, which by de-

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grees had extreamly augmented their Revenues. 1282. They enjoy'd the Profits of Fines and Forfeitures, which formerly belong'd to the Crown, and by feveral Foundations and pious Legacies, had made themfelves Mafters of a confiderable Number of the King's Mannors and Fiefs. The Patrimony of the Church was daily augmented by Donations, but could never be diminish'd by Sale or Alienation, for such Practices were forbidden by express Laws; which were as prejudicial to the Laity, as advantageous to the Clergy, and ferv'd only to establish the Grandeur of

the latter, upon the Ruins of the former.

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The Bishops made so good Use of the Influence they had over the People at Elections, and of the Need all the Pretenders had of their Votes and Interest, that they obtain'd on such Occasions several Privileges, which did very confiderably diminish both the Revenue and Authority of the Prince: They exacted what Conditions they pleas'd of the King, before they would own him to be their Sovereign; and before they would perform the Ceremony of his Coronation, they oblig'd him to swear, That he would inviolably preserve 'em in the Possession of their Rights and Privileges; that he would never attempt to put a Garrison into any of their Castles or Forts; that the Lands and Fiefs which they enjoy'd, by what Means soever they had come to the Possession of them, should not be re-united to the Crown; and at the same time they made him sign a Paper, declaring that he consented to his own Deposition, if ever he should violate his Oath by incroaching upon their Privileges.

These Prelates grew so proud of their Riches, and of the Number of their Vassals, that they began, by degrees, to act like so many little Sovereigns. They fortify'd their Castles, and kept Garrisons in 'em; they never appear'd without a numerous Attendance of Gentlemen and Soldiers, and were still at

Gultavus

Eric.

1282. the Head of all Factions and Intrigues; they frequently took up Arms against their Neighbours, for Differences relating to their Vasfals, or about the Limits of their Estates; and even sometimes scrupled not to march at the Head of an Army against their Sovereign, especially when they suspected him of a Design to recover the Duties and Lands that

belong'd to the Crown.

The Lords and Gentlemen fortify'd their Castles, and made 'em the Seats of their petty Empires; they treated their Vassals like menial Servants, tho' they allow'd 'em no Wages; they made them till their Lands, and oftentimes oblig'd 'em to take up Arms to make Incursions into the Territories of their Neighbours. The Swedish Nobility was not then distinguish'd by the Titles of Baron, Count, or Marquis, or by Hereditary Names of Families; they are only known by the respective Arms of their Houses, and by their Father's Name, which they bore jointly with Ericson,i.e. their own; and were noted only for their Valour, and for the numerous Train of Vassals that follow'd the Son of 'em to the War. They defended their Rights, and reveng'd the Injuries they receiv'd, by Force of Arms, and neither fought nor expected Redress from the

> was the Standard of Law and Justice, and the supreme Decider of all forts of Controversies.

> The Burghers of Stockholm, and the Inhabitants of other Maritime Towns, who subsisted merely by Trading, were more submissive to the King, and better affected to the Government. The Merchants especially were so dishearten'd by that lawless Liberty, which expos'd them to the Infolency of every potent Oppressor, that they would have willingly consented to invest the Prince with a sufficient Authority to restore the Publick Quiet, and establish the Trade of the Nation in a flourishing Condition;

> Publick Justice, because there was no Power in the Government to put the Laws in Execution. Force

but there were so sew Cities in the Kingdom, that 1282 their Deputies had no great Interest, and were not

much regarded in the Diets.

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The Peasants, on the contrary, who in this Kingdom have the peculiar Privilege to fend Deputies of their own Body to the Estates, out of a blind Obedience to their Lords, were obstinate Assertors of the Liberties and Privileges of their Provinces. Those who liv'd in fertile Countries, applied themselves to Husbandry; but in Helfingland, Cuestricland, Angermeland, and other Northern Provinces, they spent their Time in Hunting Fallow-Deer, which furnish'd'em with Meat for their Subfistence, and skins for the Prince's Tribute: They were mere Savages, for the most part bred in Woods, jealous of their Customs; and having little to lose, were ready upon the least Occasion to rise up in Arms, and revolt against the Government. Idolatry was still openly profess'd in fome of their Villages, and Christianity prevail'd in others; but their Religion was so disfigur'd by a Mixture of their antient Superstitions, that they scarce retain more of it than the bare Name of Christians.

The Peasants were the most numerous and potent Body of the State: Some of 'em held immediately of the Crown, and sent Deputies to the Diets; and the rest were Vassals to the Clergy and Nobility. Tho' the Tribute they paid to the King was very easy and inconsiderable, he was oftentimes oblig'd to levy it by Force, and to send some regulated Troops to the Forests and Mountains, for the Security of those who were appointed to collect his Duties. They seldom or never contributed their Assistance to the Preservation of the State, but in the Quality of Soldiers; and even in that Case, they thought themselves oblig'd only to defend the Frontiers of their respective Provinces, and always claim'd the

Privilege of chusing their own Leaders.

In

In all other Respects, they liv'd almost without any Dependance upon the Court, and even without any Union or Concord among themselves; being equally incapable of Society and Submission, and affecting rather an intractable Wildness, than a generous Liberty.

If we reflect upon the Independency of the Subjects, the limited Authority of the Sovereign, and the different Interests of the several Orders that compos'd the State, 'twill not appear strange, that the Kingdom was almost perpetually harras'd with Insurrections and Civil Wars. Most of the Kings aspir'd at a more absolute Authority; and some of 'em by the Assistance of their Friends and Creatures, endeavour'd to make themselves Masters of the Government, and to shake off their Dependance on the Senate; but the People were so far from being unconcern'd Spectators of an open Violation of the Liberties and Privileges of the Nation, that the very Shadow and least Appearance of Arbitrary Power occasion'd an universal Revolt, and re-united all the States against the King.

The Bishops were afraid of Reprizals under too powerful a Prince, who might seize upon his alienated Revenues, and perhaps confine the Clergy within the Limits of their Profession; the Noblemen took up Arms to defend the Privileges that made 'em in a manner independent; and the Peafants, without comprehending their true Interest, fought with the utmost Vigour and Obstinacy for the Preservation of certain Customs that were useless to the Publick, but agreeable to their favage Temper. The whole Kingdom was a perperual Scene of Seditions, Desolation, and Revolts: The Fate of the King seem'd to be in the Hands of his Subjects, and to depend on their capricious Humour; and several Princes were driven out of the Kingdom, for attempting to make themselves Absolute.

The Jealousy that reign'd among the principal Families of the Kingdom, made 'em willing to retain the time a Fo the tion tent fit t

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the Title and Dignity of a King; but at the same 1282 time they resolv'd to bestow that Honour only upon a Foreign Prince, that having no private Estate in the Kingdom, and being wholly destitute of Relations and Creatures, they might oblige him to content himself with as much Authority as they thought

fit to allow him. About the Year 1363, Magnus Smeck reign'd in 1363.

Sweden: He had two Sons, Eric and Haquin, by his Wife Blanch, Daughter to the Count of Namur. The Elder of these Princes being dead, the People of Norway bestow'd the Crown of that Kingdom upon the Younger, who, by his Father's Advice, had married Margaret, Daughter to Waldemar IV. King of Denmark. Magnus having secur'd Norway, and being supported by his Danish Alliance, would not let slip so favourable an Opportunity to make himself absolute in Sweden, by abolishing the Senate of that Kingdom: And perhaps that Project was concerted by all the three Kings, and defign'd to be put in Execution in their respective Kingdoms, to rid themselves of that dreaded Assembly, which check'd their growing Authority, and controul'd all their ambitious Designs. But as soon as the Swedes discover'd the Intentions and Correspondence of these three Princes, they took up Arms immediately, and Sweden became the Theatre of a cruel and bloody War. Waldemar, during his Life, wasvery diligent in affifting his Ally; and Haquin sent a confiderable Body of Men to reinforce his Father's Army: But the Swedes alone, who were always strong enough when they fought for the Defence of their Liberty, routed the joint Forces of thesethree Mo- 1365. narchs, and at last drove Magnus out of the Kingdom, esteeming themselves sufficiently rewarded for all the Blood they had spent in the Cause, by the Liberty they had to chuse a new Sovereign. They proceeded immediately to an Election, and the Choice .

Duke of Mecklenburgh, and Nephew to the late King Magnus, excluding King Haquin, and Henry, Albert's elder Brother, whom they hated and suspected, as Persons who had always promoted the Interest of the Prince whom they had lately dethron'd.

Thus Albert ow'd his Advancement to the impatient Humour of the Swedes, who could not bear the Yoke of too absolute a Power. Before his Accession to the Crown, that he might promote his own Interest, he seem'd to embrace that of the People; but as soon as he found himself fix'd upon the Throne, he began to follow the Maxims of his Predecessors, and study'd the most promising Methods by which he might make himself the absolute

Master of his Subjects.

The Senate was the Object both of his Jealouly, and Aversion; but the Fate of King Magnus deterr'd him from attempting to abolish that powerful' Body, much less could he hope either to gain or over-awe those rich and potent Lords that look'd upon themselves rather as his Tutors than Counsellors. And therefore to balance their Authority, fent for some Princes of his Family, and several German Lords and Captains, whom he intrusted with the Command of the Troops, and principal Forts of the Kingdom. He introduced some of these Strangers into the Senate, against the fundamental Laws of the State; and, under various Pretexts, brought into Sweden a confiderable Number of Foreign Troops, who began to render him terrible to his own Subjects. Then he proceeded to impose exorbitant Taxes upon the People for the Payment of his Army: But this politick Contrivance to establish his Authority, being push'd on too far, serv'd only to hasten his Destruction; for the Swedes grew jealous of their Privileges, and resolv'd to shake off that rigorous Yoke which they were not accustom'd to bear. Margaret

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Margaret the Daughter of Waldemar, King in 1365. Denmark, and Widow of Haquin, King of Norway, was at the same time possess of the Crowns of both these Kingdoms. For after the Death of the King her Husband, who did not long survive the Deseat and Abdication of his father King Magnus, the States of Norway entrusted her with the Regency of the Kingdom, and the Guardianship of her Son Olaus; and during her Administration of the Government, she made so good Use of her Time, and manag'd her Designs with so much Dexterity and Success, that when the young Prince died, the Norwegians sound they were not at liberty to proceed to a new Choice.

She was Mistress of the Army, and of the Forts or Places of Strength; so that the principal Lords of the Kingdom, who were not gain'd to her Party durst not seem dissatisfy'd, nor so much as indifferent, at a Time when they could not, without Danger, discover their true Sentiments. Thus Margaret was elected by the Estates, and exchang'd the Quality of a Regent, for that of a Sovereign Queen, having already born the same Title as the Wise of

King Haquin.

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King Waldemar her Father dying the same Year, without leaving any Prince of his Blood whom the Danes might chuse for his Successor, she sent Deputies to the States-General of the Kingdom to sollicit her Election to that Crown. Henry of Mecklenburgh, the elder Brother of Albert King of Sweden, and Husband of her elder Sister the Princess Ingelburge, employ'd his Interest to obtain the same Dignity; and flattering himself with the Advantage he had of being a Son-in-Law to the deceas'd King, thought he might easily contend with a Female Competitor: But the Queen's Agents drew such convincing Arguments from the Merit, and perhaps also from the Money of their Mistress, that she was unanimously elected

1374.

Queen of Denmark in the Meeting of the Estates.

As soon as she receiv'd the News of her Advancement, she left Norway, and went immediately to Copenhagen, where she fix'd the Seat of her Empire.

This Princess, who by some is call'd the Semiramis of the North, besides the usual Ambition of her Sex, was Mistress of a Dexterity in the Management of Affairs, and of a Capacity to form a long Series of coherent Projects, that are rarely observed in a Woman: Her Inclinations to Love were suitable to her Character and Dignity; that is, she was not really in love with any thing but Glory, or sensible of any Passion but her Ambition to extend the Limits of her Empire, and advance her Autho-

rity.

She rejoyc'd in secret at the Dissatisfaction of the Swedes, and endeavour'd to gain some of the Leading Men of that Nation: She bestow'd Pensions and an honourable Entertainment on those that were ill treated by King Albert, and openly blam'd his Injustice in violating the Liberty and Privileges of his Subjects. That Prince was daily laying new Impositions upon his People, without the Consent either of the Estates or Senate, and had already squeez'd considerable Sums out of the Clergy, by way of Loans; but nothing render'd him more odious both to the Bishops and Nobility, than his re-uniting to the Crown the third Part of those Fiefs or Estates to which the Clergy and Gentry claim'd a Right by virtue of so long a Possession.

This was the fatal Signal of an universal Revolt; the Swedes conspir'd unanimously against him, resolving to drive him out of the Kingdom, and to offer the Crown to Queen Margaret: They imagin'd, that she had so much Business already in Denmark, that she would content herself with almost the bare Title of Queen of Sweden; and the' she should

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whe to o endeavour to stretch the Prerogative too far, they concluded that the Danes and Norwegians would unite all their Forces to keep their common Sovereign in a Dependance on the Estates and Senate of

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In Pursuance of this Design, they secretly deputed some of the most considerable Lords of the Kingdom to offer her the Crown; and she receiv'd the Proposal with Joy, as the most probable Means to secure the Peace of Denmark: For the violent Animosity that reign'd betwixt the Subjects of both Nations, was of as ancient a Date as the Foundation of the two Kingdoms; and that Antipathy, which is usually observ'd betwixt neighbouring States, had all along been a perpetual Source of War, which had oftentimes prov'd fatal to Denmark. And besides. this prudent Princess concluded, that her new Advancement might one Day furnish her with an Opportunity to unite Sweden to Denmark. These Considerations made her resolve to give a favourable Answer to the Proposals of the Malecontents: She agreed with their Deputies, that the Nobility should rife up in Arms; that they should acquaint King Albert with his Deposition; that the Army and Estates should publickly acknowledge her to be their Sovereign; and that after her Election, she should be oblig'd to send a considerable Body of Troops to support and defend them.

The Treaty being fign'd, the Swedes immediately took up Arms against the King, and sent a Herald to intimate and declare, that they renounc'd the Allegiance they had sworn to him. At the same time they proclaim'd Margaret de Waldemar, Queen of Sweden, and as soon as they had receiv'd the Reinforcement which they expected from that Princess, the united Armies march'd towards West-Gothland, where King Albert was drawing his Forces together to oppose them. That Prince had taken all possible

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1385. care to put himself in a Posture of Desence; he had rais'd a confiderable Body of Troops, obtain'd the Affistance of several German Princes, who were either his Relations or Allies, and mortgag'd the Isle of Gothland for the Payment of twenty thoufand Rose-Nobles of the Coin of England, which he borrow'd of the Knights of the Teutonick Order, to maintain the Charge of the War. all these Preparations could not divert his impending Fate: The two Armies met near Falcoping, and Albert was not only defeated, but had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of his Enemies, with his Son Prince Eric, and the principal Lords of his

The Princes of the House of Mecklenburgh, and Gerard Count of Holstein, endeavour'd to revive the drooping Hopes of this unfortunate Prince: They levy'd new Troops, and obtain'd confiderable Succours from the Hans-Towns, who were jealous of the Queen's Power, and dreaded the successful Progress of her Arms. Thus Sweden was made a Prey to several different and jarring Nations, who seem'd only to agree in a Design to ruin that Kingdom; and amidst so many Disasters, the poor Inhabitants could not distinguish their Friends from their Enemies. The War lasted almost seven Years with extraordinary Fury, and a vast Expence of Blood; and the Peace that succeeded, was rather an Effect of the Weariness of the two contending Parties, than of any Abatement of the Rage that animated 'em. Albert was at last constrain'd to exchange his Crown for his Liberty, and retir'd to his native Country; after which, Queen Margaret's Title to the Crowns of the Three Kingdoms of the North was univerfally own'd and acknowledg'd.

The Swedes seeing themselves subject to a Princess that had no Children, and fearing that after her Death, King Albert or the Prince his Son might re-

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new their Pretensions to the Crown, intreated her 1302. to secure the Happiness of the Kingdom, by an advantageous Match. This Proposal, however intended, was not at all welcome to the Queen: She was too fond of the Sovereign Power, to share it with a Husband; yet that she might not seem to flight the Petition of her new Subjects, the confented to appoint her Successor. But at the same time, the resolved to chuse a Prince whose tender Age might secure the Quiet of her Government, and keep him from attempting to mount the Throne In Pursuance of this Resolution, during her Life. the fent for Prince Henry of Pomerania, the Son of Wartislas VII. and of Mary of Mecklenburgh, the Daughter of Henry of Mecklenburgh, and of Ingelburge the Queen's elder Sister: She order'd him to be call'd Eric, a Name which Twelve Kings of Sweden had already born, resolving to educate him at her Court, and to make him the Heir of the Three Northern Crowns.

The Form of Government in these Kingdoms was almost the same: All Three were Elective, and every Nation had its Senate, without whose Advice, or the Consent of the Estates, the Prince could not undertake any important Affair. In order to the Accomplishment of her great Design, the Queen fpent some Time in gaining Creatures, and securing the Interest of some of the Leading Men of each Nation; and as foon as the found her Project ripe for Execution, the call'd a Meeting or Convention of the Estates of her Three Kingdoms to be held at Calmar in Sweden, whither Forty Deputies of each Nation repair'd to establish a fundamental Law, for the uniting of the Three Kingdoms under one Monarch.

The Queen presented the young Duke of Pomerania to the Convention, and entreated 'em to confirm her Choice. She endeavour'd with a great

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1392. deal of Eloquence to make 'em sensible of the Advantages they might expect by obeying the same Sovereign; and put 'em in mind of the happy Consequences of her Election, which had establish'd the publick Tranquility, and compos'd all those fatal Animolities that are wont to disturb the Quiet of neighbouring States. She represented to them the inviting Prospect they had of making themselves Masters of all the Trade of the Baltick Sea, and that the Hans-Towns could never afterwards enrich themselves by their Divisions; adding that the only Way to prepetuate these Advantages, and to make the Union folid and durable, was to unite the Three Kingdoms into one Monarchy, by a solemn and fundamental Law.

The Presence of so great a Princess, the Solidity 1395. of her Arguments, the Applaules and Interest of her Creatures, either gain'd or commanded the Consent of all the Deputies. The Election of the Duke of Pomerania was unanimously approv'd, and the Three Kingdoms of the North were united under that Prince and his Successors, by a fundamental Law, which was receiv'd by the Three Nations, and confirm'd by the most solemn Oaths.

This celebrated Union of Calmar, instead of establishing a lasting Concord betwixt the Northern Kingdoms, was the fatal Occasion of those bloody Wars that kept Sweden and Denmark in a perpetual Flame for above a Hundred Years: It confifted of Three Main Articles, which feem'd to have been fram'd on purpose to secure the Liberty and Independance of each Nation. By the First, 'twas ordain'd, that these three Kingdoms, which by the Constitution of their Government were Elective, should afterwards be subject to one King, who should be elected by Turns in each Kingdom; and that the Royal Dignity should not be appropriated to any one Nation, to the Prejudice or Exclusion of the rest,

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unless the deceas'd Prince should leave Children or Relations, whom the Convention of the Three Estates should judge worthy to succeed him. The Second oblig'd the Sovereign to share his Presence betwixt the Three Realms, and to spend the Revenue of each Crown in the respective Kingdom, without exporting the Money he receiv'd, or applying it to any other Use than the particular Advantage and Benefit of the Kingdom where 'twas levy'd. And by the Third, and most important Article, 'twas provided, that each Kingdom should retain its Senate. Laws, Customs, and Privileges; that the Governors, Magistrates, Generals, Bishops, Soldiers, and Garrisons, should be Natives of the Kingdom where they were employ'd; and that the King should never dispose of any of these Posts to Foreigners, or to the Subjects of his other Kingdoms, who should be reputed Foreigners and Aliens to the Government of the .Country where they were not

The Swedes were extreamly pleas'd to think that the Royal Prerogative was fo effectually restrain'd by this Treaty, that the Sovereign could never afterwards invade the Liberties of the Subject: But they were foon convinc'd of their Error, and both faw and felt the fatal Consequences of their mistaken Policy. The Queen was too powerful and ambitious to content herself with fo limited an Authority: She was scarce settled upon the Throne of Sweden, when the began to extend her Power, and endeavour'd, with an extraordinary Application, to make her self the absolute Mistress of the Kingdom. She seiz'd on all the principal Forts, which the cunningly got out of the Hands of he Gentry, by proposing some tempting Exchange hat might enrich their Families, but lessen their Power, and augment their Dependance on the Court. She bestow'd most of the vacant Govern-

ments

1513. ments on Danish Lords, against the Proviso expresly mention'd in the Treaty of Calmar, and by degrees remov'd the Swedish Nobility from all the considerable Places of Honour and Trust in the Kingdom. Abraham Broderson, a young Swedish Lord, who had a very graceful Mien, and was admirably well shap'd, had the peculiar Honour of her Favour: She gave him the Government of Haland, and made him her But her extraordinary Kindness only Confident. to a Man whose Handsomness was his only Merit, instead of obliging the rest of his Countrymen, furnish'd the disaffected Party with a new Pretext to censure her Behaviour, and murmur against the Government. At last they adventur'd to express their Diffatisfaction to the Queen her felf: They went in a Body to attend her, and laid before her the Titles by which they held their Privileges, and a Copy of the Treaty of Calmar, the Violation of which gaul'd them extreamly. But that cunning and imperious Princess was too well acquainted with her own Power, to dread the effects of their impotent Rage; and instead of returning a satisfactory Answer to their Address, she told them in a slighting and disdainful Manner, That she would advise them to keep their Charters and Titles as carefully as she intended to keep the Forts of the Kingdom. She govern'd ever afterwards with an absolute Power, and endeavour'd to secure and confirm her Authority, by keeping the Nobility at a Distance from the Management of State-Affairs, and impoverishing the common People, that they might not beable to form, or at least to carry on a Defign against the Government.

> But fince these politick Cautions were not sufficient to restrain a Nation that had been accustom'd to a boundless Liberty, and was always ready to revolt upon the least Provocation, she made it her Businels to gain Creatures, and to form a Party in the Kingdom that might be able to maintain her Au-

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thority, and baffle all the Attempts of her Enemies. For the more effectual Profecution of that Defign, the cast her Eyes upon the Clergy, who were very potent, both by reason of their vast Riches, and the great Number of their Vassals: Nor could she have taken a better Way to curb the Fury of a grumbling and superstitious People, who thought themselves oblig'd to be govern'd by the Maxims of their Spiritual Guides. There was not a Church in Sweden that did not receive some conspicuous Marks ofher Bounty: She augmented the Power, and confirm'd all the Privileges of the Bishops, and atterwards admitted them to a Share in the Government, that their own Interest, and the Preservation of their Grandeur, might oblige them to maintain the Authority of the Crown.

The Bishops, gain'd by such high and distinguishing Favours, devoted themselves to the Interest of the Court; and the inferior Clergy follow'd their Example, both by reason of their Dependance upon their Superiors, and because the Favour of the Court, and the Queen's Recommendation to the Chapters, where the most effectual Means to obtain a Bishoprick. The Lords and Gentlemen, who were already jealous of the Riches and Power of the Clergy, could not, without Grief and Indignation, behold this new Addition to their Authority; but they were forced to content themselves with repining in secret during the Life of the Queen: For that wife and powerful Princess entertain'd private Spies among the Difaffected Party; and by that Means was acquainted with all their Resolutions, and enabled to break all the Measures they could take to shake off the Yoke she had impos'd upon them.

After her Death, King Eric succeeded in the Three Kingdoms, but did neither inherit her Power nor her Prudence: He retir'd to Denmark, and fent Governors to Sweden, who treated the People of that Kingdom, rather as disarm'd Enemies, than as free

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1395. Subjects. The Nation was overloaded with Taxes, and fill'd with Soldiers, who domineer'd over the wretched Inhabitants, and not only robb'd and plunder'd them without Controul, but added Scorn and Infolency to their Avarice and Barbarity. The Officers conniv'd at these Disorders, and rather encourag'd than check'd the Offenders. From whence it may reasonably be concluded, that either they receiv'd a Share of the Booty, or had secret Orders The Complaints of the to tolerate these Abuses. Oppress'd did not reach the Ears of the Prince, or were rejected with difdain; nor could they hope to fee an End, or so much as an Alleviation of their Misery, without an entire Alteration of the Government. And therefore they resolved in so desperate a Case, to have Recourse to the most violent Remedies, and to free themselves from a Power that feem'd unjust at its first Establishment, and was now become tyrannical and insupportable.

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Engelbreeth, a Gentleman of the Province of Dalecarlia, was the first that adventur'd to appear in Arms, against the publick Oppressors of his Country: He rous'd the Courage of the neighbouring Peasants, and engag'd them in the same Design. They were a rude and simple People, Lovers of their Prince and Country, but jealous of their Privileges, and Enemies to Slavery and Oppression. He march'dat the Head of his tumultuary Forces, and cut to Pieces fome Danish Troops that endeavour'd to oppose his Progress: His Army was quickly reinforc'd by a Multitude of Peafants, whom the News of his Success drew from the neighbouring Provinces; and not long after, he was join'd by the Noblemen of Westmania and Nericia. He made himself Master of Upland; and his Presence and Fame engag'd several other Provinces in the Revolt. He abrogated the Taxes that were impos'd by King Eric, and raz'd all the new Forts which that Prince or his Predecessors

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ceffors had built to keep the People in Subjection to 1434. their Authority. The Senators, who still acknowledg'd King Eric, affembled at Wadestein, to consult about the most proper Methods to put a Stop to these Disturbances. But Engelbreeth hearing of their Defign, was resolved either to persuade or fright them into a Sense of their Duty: He march'd with all posfible Haste to the Place appointed for their Meeting, at the Head of a Thousand Peasants; and entring compleatly armed into the Assembly, represented to them the Injustice and Cruelty of the Danish Government, and fwore he would flab the first Man that should venture to oppose the Preservation of his Country. The pathetick Violence of his Discourse, and the Boldness of his Words and Actions, struck fuch a Terror into the Minds of the Senators, that they publickly renounc'd the Allegiance and Fealty they had fworn to King Eric.

Charles Canutson, Great Mareschal of Sweden, and Governor of Finland, comply'd with the Resolutions of the Senate: He was descended from the illustrious Family of Bonde, which reckons several Kings of Count Sweden among its Ancestors. He saw, with Joy, that Eric XI. his Country was like to be speedily freed from the Danish Yoke; but he was vex'd to think, that an ordinary Gentleman, such as Engelbrecth, should carry away all the Glory of so noble an Attempt, and was even afraid, lest the Peasants, in the Heat of their Affection to their Deliverer, should dispose of a Kingdom in his Favour, which they had almost entirely conquer'd under his Conduct. He went to that Gentleman's Army, and fided with his Party, on purpose that he might make himself the Head and Master of them; nor was he disappointed of his Hope, for he quickly obtain'd the Authority which was due to his Birth and Dignity.

He took Advantage of the milunderstanding that was betwixt King Eric and the Danes. This Monarch teeing himself Master of Three great King-

1434. doms, fancy'd himself above the Laws and Privileges of those Nations: He treated the Danes and Norwegians little better than the Swedes, and affum'd an arbitrary Power over a People who were willing to be his Subjects, but could not endure to be us'd like Slaves.

The Tyrannical Disposition of this Prince made him so odious to his Subjects, that all the Three Kingdoms conspir'd against him; and the Revolt was fo general, that there were none left to support him. The Danes drove him out of the Kingdom, and conferr'd the Crown upon his Nephew, Christopher of Bavaria, who immediately sent to the Estates of Norway and Sweden, requiring them to confirm his Election, in Pursuance of the Treaty of Calmar. The Norwegians acknowledg'd him as their Sovereign; but the Great Mareschal of Sweden, and the chief Noblemen of that Kingdom, endeavour'd to oppose his Advancement: They represented to the Estates, that the Election of that Prince ought to be rejected, because the Danes had chosen him without the Knowledge and Consent of their Allies; but the Bishops and Clergy made so strong an Interest for him, that his Election was confirm'd by the Plurality of Voices.

Sweden receiv'd no Benefit by the Change of her He follow'd the Maxims of his Predecesfors; Denmark was his favourite Kingdom, and he left no Means unattempted to bring Sweden under the Dominion of that Crown; but Death prevented the Execution of his Defigns. He was succeeded by Christiern I Count of Oldenburg, from whom the present King of Denmark is descended. The Danes advanc'd him to the Throne, without asking or expecting the Approbation of the Swedes and Norwegians; yet, in Imitation of his Predecessor, he pretended, that by virtue of his Election in Denmark, he had a just Title to the Crowns of Sweden and Norway;

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but his Pretensions to the former were thwarted by 1419. the Great Mareschal Canutson, who oppos'd his pretended Right with great Courage and Resolution.

That Lord had observ'd ever since Engelbreath's Revolt, that the Swedes were weary of living under the Dominion of a Foreign Power; and from that very Time he began fecretly to aspire to the Crown. and to draw a Scheme of his future Advancement: His Office made him Mafter of the Forces and Militia of the Kingdom; he govern'd a large Province, and was the richest Lord in Sweden. The Estates being assembled at Stockholm, the Great Mareschal came thither at the Head of fo numerous a Company of Finlandish Lords and Gentlemen, that 'twas generally concluded he would be Master of the Election: He represented to the Assembly, that the Treaty of Calmar was extremely prejudicial to the whole Kingdom; that Queen Margaret and the Kings her Successors had always made use of that pernicious Law, as a Means and Pretext to bring Sweden under Subjection to the Crown of Denmark; that the Danes treated them rather like Slaves than Allies, assuming a Power to impose a Sovereign upon them, without calling them to his Election; and that they could only blame themselves for so unworthy a Treatment, if they did not abrogate and disannul an Alliance that was so dishonourable to the Nation.

This Discourse rous'd the languid Courage of the Swedes, and awaken'd their antient Aversion 1448. against the Danish Government; it put them in Mind of the Tyranny of King Eric; and every Man began to accuse himself of Weakness and Stupidity for submitting to the Prince of Bavaria. The Election of the Count of Oldenburgh was rejected with a great deal of Vehemency; and the Royal Dignity was conferr'd upon the Great Mareschal, as a Recompence for the Zeal he had always profess'd for the Interest

of his Country. At the same time he manag'd the Estates of Norway so dexterously, and had so great an Influence over them, that he was chosen Sovereign of that Kingdom, whither he went, and was crown'd at Druntheim, and intrusted the Government of the State to two of the principal Lords of the Country.

The Swedish Bishops had been devoted to the Crown of Denmark, ever fince Queen Margaret preferr'd them before the Nobility, in the Government of the Kingdom: They only gave their Consent to the Election of the Great Mareschal, because they could not oppose it; and were vex'd to behold the Increase of his Power and Authority. He was not ignorant of their Spite and Aversion against him, and that they were only diffatisfy'd, because he did not allow them a Share in the Government. If he had confider'd their temporal Authority, he would have foon perceiv'd that it was his true Interest to gain them; but he thought himself so well settled upon the Throne, that 'twas beyond the Power of his most potent Adversaries to disturb the Quiet of his Reign; herefolv'd to humble those losty Prelates, and concluded that the most effectual Way to make them harmless and submissive to the Government, was to deprive them of Fart of those vast Riches, which ferv'd only to make them terrible to their Sovereign. He obtain'd an Order of the Senate to make an exact Enquiry into all the Rights of the Crown, and the Publick Revenues which the Clergy had usurp'd; and ordain'd, that no Person for the future

Masters of all the Lands in the Kingdom.

The Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks were extreamly incens'd at this Declaration: They affirm'd publickly, that the King was a Heretick, and indea-your'd to persuade the People, that this Invasion of

should erect any new Foundations, under Pretext that

the Superstition of the People would give the Clergy

an Opportunity by degrees to make themselves

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their temporal Estates was only made use of as a Cloak to cover more pernicious Designs, and that the Blow was aim'd at Religion it self. To prevent the pretended Consequences of a Regulation that touch'd'em in the most sensible Part, they resolv'd to take up Arms against the King, and engag'd their Relations, Vasfals, and Creatures in the Conspiracy. To favour their design'd Revolt, John de Salstat, Archbishop of Upfal, of the illustrious Family of Bielke, dispatch'd a Gentleman with secret Instructions to Christiern I. King of Denmark, to invite him to Sweden, in order to the Re-establishment of the Treaty of Calmar. And left that Prince should be discourag'd by the feeming Difficulty of the Attempt, he affur'd him, that all the Bishops of the Kingdom would second his Pretentions, and that they were ready to receive him as their Sovereign, into all their Cities and Forts.

Christiern was then in Norway, whither he went upon a like Invitation from a Party that revolted against King Canutson. But not with standing the War in which he was engag'd in that Kingdom, helent a powerful Army to support the intended Rebellion of the Swedish Clergy. As soon as Archbishop Salstat receiv'd Advice of the Danes appearing on the Frontiers, he call'd a General Affembly of the Clergy, to be held at Up/al, where he excommunicated the King in a folemn Mass which he said on that Occasion. After the Office was ended, he laid his Ecclefiastical Ornaments and Habits upon the Altar, swearing that he would never put them on again, till he had driven that Prince out of the Kingdom. Then he took a Cuirass and Sword, and went out of the Church in that warlike Equipage at the Head of his Vassals, to fight against his Sovereign. The rest of the Bishops follow'd his Example, and took up Arms for the Prefervation of their Privileges: They joyn'd openly with the Danes, and long'd to see their Country under the Dominion of Foreign Princes, who during their necel-

1452. necessary Absence, lest the Clergy in Possession of all the Marks of Sovereignty, and even of a large Share of the Royal Authority: They scrupled not to fight against the King at the Head of the Danes, and the whole Kingdom was distracted with a dreadful Complication of Civil and Foreign Wars.

Yet that Prince might have easily dispersed the Clouds that feem'd to threaten him with inevitable Ruin, and might have triumph'd over the joint Forces of his Foreign and Domestick Enemies, if he could have contented himself with the Regal Dignity, and the Revenues that were annex'd to the Crown: But he began too foon to domineer over his new Subjects, and not only impos'd unusual Taxes upon the People, but invaded the Privileges of the Nobility, without reflecting on the fatal Consequences of disobliging those to whom he owed his Crown and Authority. By these violent Proceedings, he lost several of his best Friends, and the most considerable Lords of the Kingdom. The Archbishop, taking Advantage of this Misunderstanding, routed the King's Army, which was already weaken'd by the Defertion of the Nobility, and pursu'd him to Stockholm, whither he retired after the Loss of the Battel. unfortunate Prince perceiving that the Nobility had forfaken him, and he had neither Forces nor Provisions to undergo a Siege, was so afraid of falling into the Hands of his Enemies, that he left the Kingdom, and retir'd to Dantzick, with a Defign to raile Forces in Prussia and Germany, and to appear once again in Sweden at the Head of an Army.

In the mean time, the Archbishop was receiv'd into Stockholm, where he caused Christiern I. to be proclaim'd King of Sweden. That Prince was still in Norway; but as foon as he had fettled his Affairs there, he marched immediately to Sweden, and was receiv'd as Sovereign of the Kingdom. The Archbishop flatter'd himself with the Expectation of go-

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governing the Kingdom, and imagin'd that Christiern 1457. would, in Imitation of his Predecessors, content himelf with the Title of King; but that Prince declar'd openly, that he was refoly'd to keep the Power inhis own Hands, and did not think fit to gratify the Ambition of his Benefactor. The haughty Prelate finding himself so unexpectedly slighted, and (as he thought) ungratefully treated, express'd his Diffatisfaction in Terms that were not much different from a positive Menace: But Christiern, knowing him to be a Person of a turbulent and daring Temper, was to far from complying with his Humour, or endeayouring to appeale his Passion, that he order'd him to be apprehended, and fent him under a strong Guard to Denmark. Catil, Bishop of Lincoping, the Archbishop's Nephew, took up Arms immediately, to revenge the Affront that was put upon his Uncle; and having in a little Time railed a confiderable Body of Soldiers, had the good Fortune to obtain feveral Victories over the King's Army, who, perceiving that he was not strong enough to keep the Field, in Opposition to that Prelate, dispers'd his Forces into the Places that were in his Possession, and return'd to Denmark to levy a sufficient Number of Men to recruit and augment his Army.

Bishop Catil remain'd Master of the Government during the War, which lasted almost seven Years: He offer'd several times to receive the King of Denmark into the Kingdom, if he would set the Archbishop at Liberty: But that Monarch was too proud to submit to a forc'd Compliance, and scorn'd to owe the Reduction of Sweden to any but himself. Canut-son's Friends perceiving that the Breach grew still wider, took the Advantage of so savourable a Juncture, and prevail'd with Catil to consent to the King's Restoration. As soon as the Prince receiv'd the welcome News, he return'd to Sweden, and remounted the Throne, after he had liv'd seven Years in Exile;

but

Condition. For this unexpected Revolution open'd the King of Denmark's Eyes, and convinc'd him of the Error he had committed in disobliging the Clergy: He endeavour'd to regain their Favour, by setting the Archbishop at Liberty, and that Prelate assured him, that he would raise a new Insurrection against King Canutson. Christiern was engag'd in a War with the Count of Holstein, who had invaded Juitland, so that he could not at present spare any Soldiers; but he furnish'd the Archbishop with a considerable Sum to levy Forces in Sweden, and order'd a Company of his Guards to wait upon him, that he might enter the Kingdom with an honourable Attendance.

The Archbishop was met and receiv'd on the Frontiers by Bishop Catil and all his Followers: He blam'd them for contributing to King Canutson's Restoration; and 'twas resolv'd by all that were present, to dethrone him a second Time. The War broke forth again with more Fury than ever; and not long after there was a bloody Battel fought on the Lake Meler, which was then frozen, where the King was so entirely deseated, that he had not Men enough left to secure his Retreat; so that he was forc'd to put himself into the Hands of his Enemies. The Archbishop made him renounce the Title of King, and afterwards confin'd him to a Castle in Finland, which he allow'd him for his Subsistence.

This Prelate was not so fond of King Christiern as before, nor so forward to acknowledge him as King of Sweden; His Imprisonment had given him a clearer view of the Policy and Temper of that Prince; and he had found, by Experience, that 'tis sometimes dangerous for a Subject to put too great Obligations on his Sovereign. He resolved to enjoy the Fruit of his Victory, and to share the supreme Autho-

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reme thoAuthority with the principal Lords of his Party. 1457. Thus Sweden had the Misfortune to be made the cene of a confus'd and fatal Anarchy, and to groan inder the tyrannical Dominion of as many Soveeigns, as there were Lords that could raise any Fores, or were Masters of a Castle or Fort. Every prirate Quarrel was the Occasion of a War, and the contending Parties made use of the Name of King Canutson, or King Christiern, to cover their rising up in Arms with a Pretence of Authority; tho' at he bottom they did not own the Right or Interest of either of those Princes. This Scene of Disorder afted four Years; during which Time, the Kingdom was perpetually distracted with intestine Wars; ind the People were so weary of a Liberty that exbos'd them to so many and such terrible Miseries, that hey demanded the Restoration of King Canutson with extraordinary Eagerness and Importunity, preferring an easy Subjection before a wild and troubleome Freedom.

Thus after so many Revolutions, that Prince had the good Fortune to mount the Throne a third Time. He was folemnly invested with the Title and Quaity of a King, and was put in Possession of the Capital City; but the Bishops and Lords retain'd their Authority over the Provinces. He did not long urvive this happy Turn of his Fortune, and was fo enfible at his Death of the Difficulties with which the Sovereign of an elective State must resolve to encounter, that he advis'd his Nephew, Steno Sturius, 1470. whom he appointed to fucceed him, to content himelf with the Quality of Administrator of Sweden, for tear of provoking the Jealousy of the Lords, by assuming a more elevated Title. The estates, after his Death, approv'd the Choice he had made, and the Advice he had given his Successor. The Bishops and the Nobility fearing that if he were invested with the Royal Dignities, he would re-demand the Tributes,

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1470. Revenues, and Forts which they had feiz'd, confirm'd the Title of Administrator, and in that Qua. lity entrusted him with the Command of the Army,

and the Government of the State.

The Dignity of Administrator was properly a Commission during the Interregnum or Vacancy of the Throne, which might be revok'd and made void by the Estates: He was, by his Office, the General of the Kingdom, and had a more immediate Authority over the Soldiers and Officers, who took an Oath of Fidelity to him. The Archbishop of Upfal, as Chief Senator, which was a Dignity annex'd to his Office, had the Precedency in publick Solemnities, and on Days of Ceremony; but in Time of War, the Sovereign Power was lodg'd in the Person of the Administrator, and he enjoy'd all the Authority of a King, tho' he durst not assume the Title. Swedes were so afraid of absolute Power, that they dreaded the very Name of a King; and imagin'd, that they enjoy'd a greater Liberty under an Administrator, tho' his Authority was not inferior to that of a King, and might be advanc'd as high as he had the Courage and Dexterity to raise it.

Christiern the First endeavour'd sometimes by Treaties, and sometimes by Force, to abolish that Dignity, and re-establish the Union of Calmar. The Bishops were still devoted to his Interest, and declar'd in his Favour, as often as they could discover their Inclinations without Danger. During the Space of four and forty Years, that Monarch, and King John the Se cond's Son, govern'd Sweden by Turns, with the Administrators, Steno and Suanto Sturius: For it happen'd not unfrequently, that the King of Denmark and the Administrator were at the same Time Masters of several Provinces, according as the Faction of the Bishops, or the Party of the Nobility prevail'd. In the mean time, neither of them could make themselves absolute in a Kingdom where the Sovereigns were

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ostentimes oblig'd to part with some Branch of their 1470. Prerogative, to purchase the Obedience of their Subjects.

Such was the State of Sweden, when it began to be made the Theatre of the most memorable Revolution that ever happen'd in the North, which may be justly reckon'd the Foundation of the Swedish Monarchy, and of the Grandeur of that Family

which at present possesses the Throne.

After the Death of Suanto Sturius, the last Administrator of Sweden, the Factions and Parties, which, Charles by his Power and Policy, he had broken and dis-XI King of pers'd, began to break forth with fresh Violence: Sweden, He owed his Advancement to his own Merit, and of the Pato the Need the Kingdom had of his Protection; Branch of for he was chosen Administrator at a Time when Deuxthat Dignity seem'd to be instituted on purpose to opponts, is pose the Attempts of the Danes: His Victories over the Grand-the Muscovites raised his Glory and Reputation, and sherine de made his Memory illustrious.

Vasa, the

His Power was almost equal to the Authority of Daughter the most absolute Monarch: He was fortunate in of Charles War, and respected in Peace. He obliged John II. of Suder-mania, and King of Denmark, by the Terror of his Arms, to Wife of make a Truce with Sweden; and establish'd Peace Casimir, and Plenty among his People. The Nobility and Count Pa-Peasants look'd upon him as the Protestor of the Publatine of the Rhine. lick Liberty; and his Merit procur'd him the Friendship of some of the Bishops, whom he had persuaded to disingage themselves from the Danish Facti-

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He never undertook any important Affair, without imparting his Designs to James Ulfonis, Archbishop of Upfal, and Heming Gadde, Bishop of Lincoping; for tho' those Prelates were Enemies to his Dignity, they could not forbear loving and esteeming his Person. He shew'd an extraordinary Respect to the Senate, and affected so little Superiority over the

Merit, tho' he was willing that People should know that this was rather an Effect of his Moderation, than of Weakness and Meanness of Spirit. He kept always a considerable Body of Standing Forces, that his Enemies might never find an Opportunity to surprize him, before he was prepar'd to receive them: His Court and Houshold were compos'd of the Officers of his Army; he maintain'd them with his own Revenues in Time of Peace, and made them his Ministers and Favourites. These prudent Maxims which he observed in the Management of all his Affairs, made him the Terror of the Danes, and their Factions, who durst never engage in any Attempt against Sweden, during his government.

After his Death, the Senate call'd a Meeting, or Convention of the Estates, at Abroga, to proceed to the Choice of a Successor. The Bishops, led by the Confideration of their private Interest, endeavour'd to support the Claim of the Kings of Denmark, under whose Reign they had always the largest Share in the Government, and left no Means unattempted to revive the Union of Calmar: They represented to the Estates, that Plenty, and a flourishing Trade, were the happy Effects of the Observance of that Treaty in Norway; that this was the only Way to change the present Truce with Denmark to a solid Peace, which could not but be extremely advantageous to Sweden; and that, on the contrary, the Election of an Administrator would make the Kingdom the Seat of a bloody and pernicious War, so long as there were any Kings in Denmark able to maintain the Justice of their Pretensions to the Crown of Sweden.

But these Arguments were not much regarded by the rest of the Assembly, who were convinc'd that these designing Prelates would, for their own Interest, bring the Nation under a Yoke that was grie-

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grievous and insupportable to all the other Estates 1504. The greatest Part of the Deof the Kingdom. puties declar'd aloud, that they would have an Administrator, and the Bishops were forced to comply with the prevailing Opinion. The Archbishop of Upfal was the first that gave his Vote, and declar'd in favour of the Senator Eric Trolle, who was a prudent and deferving Person; and besides. recommended by his Age, Birth, Riches, and Alliance to the late Administrator. The Archbishop, to prevent any Opposition that might be made against that Senator's Advancement, affur'd the Friends and Relations of the late Administrator, that 'twas only the Respect he had for the Memory of that great Man, which made him name Trolle for his Successor; adding, that by this Means Suanto's Son, who, by reason of his Youth, could not be suppos'd to be yet Master of so much Skill and Experience as was requir'd for the Discharge of fo great a Truft, would have an excellent Opportunity to fit himself for the Management of Affairs, and to learn the Art of War under the Inspection of his Kinsman, who, by reason of his old Age, could not keep him long from the Possession of his Father's Dignity.

But this was only a specious Pretence to cover his hidden Designs: He had resum'd the old Maxims of the Clergy after the Death of Suanto, or rather began now to discover those Inclinations which he durst not own under the Reign of that wise and powerful Prince. Eric Trolle was his intimate Friend, and he was not ignorant of his secret Assection and Dependance on the King of Denmark, by reason of a considerable Estate which he had in that Kingdom. Tis true, that Lord was a very wise and judicious Person, but he had neither Courage nor Resolution,

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1504. and both his Age and Inclination made him inca-

pable of engaging in a War with Denmark.

Besides, the Archbishop concluded, that the Fear of losing his Estate in Denmark, and the sure Pro-

fpect of a considerable Recompence, would have so great an Influence over him, that he would be easily persuaded to accept of this Dignity by way of Trust, and afterwards make use of the Power it gave him, to make the King of Denmark Master of

the Kingdom.

But all these politick Contrivances were frustrated, by the unconquerable Aversion with which the Swedes were posses'd against all that were suspected to favour the Danish Interest. The Lay-Senators, the Nobility, the Deputies of the Provinces, and Confuls of Stockholm, agreed unanimously to exclude Eris Trolle, and at the same time declar'd for the young Prince Steno. The Bishops and their Faction perfitted obstinately in the Choice of Trolle; and the Heat of the two contending Parties began to occasion a terrible Disorder in the Assembly: But the Noblemen and Deputies maintain'd the Interest of Prince Steno with fo much Zeal and Vigour, that the Bishops finding they could not safely oppose his Advancement any longer, submitted to the Plurality of Voices, and even feem'd to approve what they could not prevent. Thus the young Prince was at last invested with a Dignity which he owed to the Merit and Memory of his Father.

Not long after, the Disaffected Party began to raise new Disturbances, and to dispute the Validity of the Election, pretending, that it was carry'd on by indirect Methods, and that the Electors were either bias'd or over-aw'd. 'Tis hard to divine what might have been the Event of a Contest about so considerable a Prize as the Supreme Power: But'tis

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probable, the Animosity of the two contending 1513. Factions might at last have occasion'd a Civil War, especially in an Elective Kingdom, where People are generally so unwilling to acknowledge a Man for their Sovereign, whom they used to consider as their Equal, if the Difference had not been compos'd by the Mediation of the common Friends of both Parties.

By the Articles of this Agreement, the young Administrator was oblig'd to consent, that the Archbishop should resign his Benefice and Dignity to Eric Trolle's Son. 'Twas hoped, that the Son's Advancement would soften the Father's Anger, and make him bear his Disappointment with less Impatience: And this was reckon'd the surest Expedient to establish a good Understanding betwixt the two Families, and to preserve the Peace of the Nation.

But notwithstanding all these pretended Advantages, the Promotion of young Frolle was oppos'd by the greatest Part of the Nobility and Gentry, who look'd upon his Agreement as a Condescenfion beneath their Courage, and injurious to the Reputation of their Party: They affur'd the Administrator, that they were able to maintain his Right with their Swords in the Field, against the Bishops and the Danish Faction; and some of them, who penetrated deeper into the Intrigues of State, and were better acquainted with the art of Government, told him in private, that the Fate of his Predecessors should deter him from conferring the principal Dignity of the Church upon a Person that was already possess'd of the highest Advantages both of Birth and Fortune: That fince the fatal Treaty of Calmar, the Archbishops had been the Authors and Fomenters of all the intestine Wars that had harrass'd D 2

1513.

the Kingdom under the Reign and Administration of his Predecessors; that young Trolle was reputed a turbulent and daring Person; that those who consider'd the Zeal with which the Clergy and Danish Faction solicited his Preferment, could not but suspect his Fidelity to the present Government; and that 'twas absolutely inconsistent with the most obvious Rules of Prudence, to advance a Man that was in a manner oblig'd both by Interest and Natural Affection, to hate the Person who was the only Obstacle of the Grandeur of his

Family.

These were the principal Arguments with which these grave Politicians endeavour'd to convince the Administrator of the dangerous Consequences of the propos'd Agreement: But in this, as well as in most other Cases, it appear'd that the Force of Reason is not able to curb the unbridled Heat of Youth. The young Prince wanted Experience, and was unwilling to be govern'd by that of others: He was dazzl'd with the Splendor of his new Dignity, and could not think himself secur'd in the Possession of his beloved Grandeur, so long as his Title was controverted by so powerful a Rival. His Mind was so taken up with the Pleasures of a present Enjoyment, that he was not at leisure to think of future Dangers; and perhaps he was so deluded by the seeming Generosity of the Action, that he was incapable of forefeeing the Hazard to which it expos'd him. But whatever were the Inducements that betray'd him into this Error, 'tis certain that the Archbishop resign'd with his Consent, and that Trolle was elected by the Chapter, upon his Recommendation: He wrote to Pope Leo X. in his Favour, and remitted a confiderable Sum of Money to the new Prelate, who was then at Rome,

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The old Archbishop sent a secret Message to his Successor, by one of his Confidents, with private Orders to pass by the Court of Denmark, with which the Swedish Clergy kept an uninterrupted Correspondence. The Election of the Administrator, and the Advancement of Trolle to the Archbishoprick of Upsal, were News of too great Importance to the King of Denmark, not to be imparted to him with all possible Haste. King John had not long before left the Crown to his Son Christiern II. whose Temper was a sufficient Indication of his future Misfortunes: He was naturally fowre, fierce, and untractable; his Courage proceeded rather from an ungovernable Fury, than from a magnanimous Defire of Glory; and he seem'd only to make War, that he might feed his Eyes with the bloody Horrors of Death. His Birth, and the Choice of the Danes, had put him in Possession of Two Crowns; but he could not think himself happy in a Kingdom, where the Sovereign Power was restrain'd by the Laws, and by the Authority of the Senate. On the contrary, he look'd upon Sweden as a Country, where, by the Success of his Arms, and Right of Conquest, he might one Day have the Pleasure to rule with a boundless and unbridl'd Power.

He waited with an extreme Impatience, till the Truce which his Father made with the late Administrator should expire, that he might put his Defigns against that Kingdom in Execution. The Advancement of Trolle, who was descended of a Family, and engag'd in a Party, that were always ready to promote the Interests of Denmark, help'd him

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of a new Administrator; and he imagin'd, that by the Assistance of the Swedish Clergy, he might obtain an easy Victory over a Prince whose Authority was not yet firmly establish'd. He wrote with his own Hand to that young Prelate, to congratulate his late Advancement, and sent him a considerable Sum of Money, as a Token of his Friend-

ship.

Trolle was confecrated at Rome, and receiv'd the Pallium from Pope Leo X. In his Return to Sweden, he pais'd by Lubeck, which at that Time was the principal and most potent City of all the Hans-Towns, and had engross'd the whole Trade of the Northern Kingdoms. There he found a Gentleman whom King Christiern had sent to engage him in his Party. The Danish Minister, who was acquainted with his Master's most secret Designs, after he had deliver'd his Credentials, told the Archbishop, in the King's Name, that his Majesty could not forbear taking this Occasion to repeat the Assurances of his Friendship, and that he hoped to see the Union of Calmar revived by his Affistance, and by the Interest and Power to which the Dignity of his Office gave him so just a Title.

Trolle was not ignorant of the Interest and Inclination of his Family; and both his Father and the old Archbishop had taken Care to engage him in their Faction: He told the Gentleman, that he was fully persuaded of the Justice of his Master's Pretensions to the Crown of Sweden; and pray'd him to assure that Prince, in his Name, that he was very sensible of the Obligations which the Consideration both of his Office and Family laid upon him to promote the Danish Interest; and that as

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soon as he had taken Possession of his Archbishoprick, he would endeavour to give his Majesty the most convincing Marks of his Zeal and Affection to his Service.

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He had afterwards several private Conferences with King Christiern's Agent, during his Abode at The Dane finding him to be of a haughty and imperious Temper, and extreamly proud of his new Dignity, and of the Grandeur of his Family, resolv'd to attack him on the weak Side, and to make him an Enemy to the Administrator, as well as a Friend to the King of Denmark: He infinuated, with a great deal of Art, that he was obliged, in Justice to himself, and to the Honour of his Family, to resent the Affront that was put upon his Father; and added, that he could never believe that a Perfon of his Merit would tamely bear the Arrogancy of an insolent Youth.

He represented to him afterwards, that the Election of an Administrator, was a late Invention of the Nobility, to elude the Treaty of Calmar; that by this means the Kings of Denmark were depriv'd of their undoubted Right to the Crown of Sweden; and the Prelates of that Kingdom excluded from the Share which those Princes allow'd them in the Then finding that his Discourse Government. had made a considerable Impression on the Archbishop's Mind, he added, as it were to comfort him after such melancholy Reflections, that in all Probability the young Administrator would not continue long in the Possession of his Dignity; that the King his Master was resolv'd to insist upon the Execution of the Treaty of Calmar; that his Claim would be afferted by Charles and Ferdinand of Austria, whose Sister he had lately marry'd by the Dukes of Saxony, his Uncles, and the Marquis

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of Brandenburg, his Brother-in-Law; that he was at Peace with all the Hans-Towns; that the City of Lubeck, which formerly pretended to preferve an Equality between the Northern Crowns, was not now in a Condition to affift Sweden; that the Republick was so weaken'd by the late War, in which it was engag'd for the Space of Ten Years against the King of Denmark, that the Regency were wholly taken up with contriving Expedients to reestablish their Trade, and would think themselves obliged to Christiern, if he would confent to confirm and maintain the Peace which they had obtain'd; that his Master was endeavouring to make a League with France and England; and that as foon as the Truce betwixt Denmark and Sweden expired, he would enter the last of these Kingdoms at the Head of his Army, to maintain his Right, and establish his Authority: He added, that he had Orders to affure him, in his Master's Name, that his Majesty would entrust him with the Government during his Absence, and advance him to the same Post which the Archbishops of Upfal enjoy'd under the Reign of his Predecessors.

The haughty Prelate listen'd attentively to a Propolal that flatter'd his Ambition: He look'd upon the Kindness he had lately receiv'd from the Administrator, as a meer forc'd Condescension; and instead of loving and honouring him as his Benefactor, he began to hate and suspect him as a secret and implacable Enemy of his Family, and one who was oblig'd by Interest to humble and oppose him: He fancy'd, that he might aspire to the Authority which that Prince enjoy'd, and even that he might obtain it, by devoting himself entirely to the King

of Denmark's Service.

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Having consider'd all the advantageous Confequences of such a Revolution, he repeated his Protestations to the Envoy, that he would imitate the most zealous of his Predecessors in their inviolable Fidelity to the Crown of Denmark: But since he was not well acquainted with the present State of a Kingdom from which he had been so long absent, 'twas resolv'd and agreed upon betwixt them, that he should spend some time in reviving and increasing the Danish Faction; and that the King should from time to time send private Agents, to take an Account of the Strength and Condition of their Party, and to concert the surest and most convenient Measures to put their Designs in Execution.

The Danish Envoy having finish'd his Negotiation, return'd-to his Master; and the Archbishop embark'd for Sweden, with a full Resolution to plot.

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Tho' that Prelate was educated at Rome, he had made but a flender Progress in the Arts of Subtilty and Dissimulation, that are so industriously taught at that Court: He was naturally of a stiff and violent Temper, more learned than politick, proud of the Riches and Power of his Family, and absolutely govern'd by his Humour. He was extremely imperious and haughty, and even incapable of Complaifance; he hated his Superiors, could not endure his Equals, and flighted his Inferiors, among whom he reckon'd all those who were not so rich as himfelf. He was so far from regulating his Behaviour to the Administrator, according to the Maxims of Policy, that he did not so much as observe the common Rules of Decency: He industriously avoided that Prince, who, in an obliging Manner, came out

1515. of this Palace to meet him; and as soon as he came ashore, he went by Land to Upsal, without sending any Compliment to the Administrator, as if he had

forgot both his Dignity and Kindnels.

He spent the first Days after his Arrival in receiving the Compliments of his Suffragans, and the Homage of his Clergy: His Relations and Friends, and the chief Persons of the Danish Faction, went to visit him; some to congratulate his Advancement, and others to discover his Humour, and observe his Behaviour to the Administrator. In the mean time, there was nothing to be seen at Upsal but Feasting and Rejoycing, which lasted above a Month; for that young Prelate affected so extraordinary a Magnificence, and his Friends, and the Creatures of his Family were so numerous, that he was attended with a Court, which, in some Measure, obscur'd

that of his Sovereign.

But they were not so wholly intent upon their Pleasure, as to forget Politicks and Affairs of State. 'Twas during these Feasts, and in the Heat of an Entertainment, that the violent and impetuous Prelate began to discover his Dissatisfaction: He complain'd to his Friends of the injury which he pretended was done to his Father in the late Election; and even could not forbear faying publickly, that Steno would have had but few Voices, if the Election had been free. Afterwards he discours'd in private with the Bishops, to discover their Inclinations to the Government, and to know what confidence he might place in their Affistance, if he should be engag'd in any Design against the Administrator: He infinuated, as it were by way of common Discourse, that 'twas to be fear'd the End of the Truce with Denmark would be the Beginning of a bloody War; that he was persuaded Christiern would leave no Means

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unattempted to re-establish the Union of the King- 1515. doms upon the Foot of the Treaty of Calmar, notwithstanding the Election of an Administrator; that he pitied the miserable Condition of his Country, which, in all Probability, would be facrific'd to the Ambition of these two Princes; that he knew not what Side the Clergy ought to take, in case of an open Rupture; that 'twas true, the Office of the Administrator seem'd to be instituted for the Defence of the Nation, and the Preservation of its Liberty; but that the Pretentions of the Kings of Denmark were founded on a just Claim; and besides, that those Princes seem'd only to contend for the Title of Kings of Sweden, that they might entrust the Clergy with the whole Care and Authority of the Government.

He added, that Time and their Advice would instruct him what Measures he ought to observe with the King of Denmark: But as for Prince Steno, he declar'd that he was so sully convinc'd of the violent and indirect Methods that were us'd in his Election, that he did not think the Clergy oblig'd to defend and support the Dignity of the Administrator against the Danes, so long as that Prince

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The Archbishop's Discourse was receiv'd with an universal Applause by his Suffragans: They unanimously declar'd for the King of Denmark, and even some of the most violent of them were of Opinion, that they ought immediately to invite him to break the Truce, and surprize Prince Steno, whom they reckon'd an Usurper; and that at the same time each prelate should oblige the Towns and Castles in their respective Jurisdictions to own the Justice of the Danish Pretensions. Others thought it necessary to put all Things in a Readiness to savour the

all their Friends and Vassals in the Design; and in the general, all the Bishops endeavour'd to outvie each other in expressing their Complaisance to their Primate, and an entire Resignation to his Conduct, which they were the more willing to promise, because the intended Invasion was yet but an uncertain Project, and both the War, and the Dangers that attended it, seem'd to be at a Distance.

Afterwards, the Archbishop made it his Business to enquire into the Number and Strength of his Vassals: He sent a Body of Soldiers to take Possession of the Fort of Steque, which belong'd to the Archbishoprick, and furnish'd it with Stores and Ammunition, as if the War had been already declar'd: He oblig'd his Friends and Relations to give him new assurances of their Assistance, and by his Magnisicence and Liberality, engag'd a considera-

ble Number of them to remain with him.

The Misunderstanding betwixt that Prelate and the Administrator, and the Preparations that were made by his Creatures, and the rest of the Danish Faction, gave occasion to People to believe that the Kingdom would quickly be made the Seat of a Civil War, Upfal became the general Rendezvous of all the Malecontents, and of those stragling Adventurers, who are always ready to offer their Service upon the first Appearance of a Faction, and are afterwards as apt to defert, or betray their Party, as they are variously acted by Fear or Inte-They were extremely well receiv'd by the Archbishop, who heard with Pleasure their Complaints against the Government, and seem'd to be touch'd with a Sense of their Grievances: He endeavour'd to express his Disaffection, by his Discourse and all his Actions, that the disaffected ParParty
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Party might be encourag'd to make their Addresses to him; but he carefully avoided every thing that might give the People Occasion to suspect his Correspondence with the Danes, who, he knew, were generally hated by the whole Swedish Nation, except the Clergy: And therefore he took care to regulate his Behaviour in such a Manner, that his Hatred and Aversion against the Administrator might be thought to proceed from a private Quarrel betwixt the two Families, in which the State was not at all concern'd.

The Administrator was equally surprized and incens'd at the News of these Transactions: He perceiv'd that the Archbishop was preparing for a Rupture, and was fo enrag'd at that Prelate's Ingratitude, that being naturally of an impatient and fiery Temper, he would have immediately march'd against him at the Head of his Army, if his Council had not moderated his Fury. They told him, that Princes must not proceed in such Cases like private Perfons; that his Anger and Resentment would only ferve to strengthen the Archbishop's Party, and augment the Number of the Malecontents; that he had to do with a People who were extremely jealous of their Liberty, and always ready to oppose the Attempts of their Sovereigns; and therefore they advis'd him to conceal his Indignation, and to endeavour to gain that Prelate by gentle and obliging Methods.

Steno submitted to their Opinion, and under Pretext of taking a Journey to some Lands that belong'd to him, he pass'd thro' Upsal, which lay directly in his Way, and is but Ten Swedish Leagues from Stockholm: Healighted at the Archbishop's Palace, and went to visit him with all the Demonstrations of Joy, and an obliging Considence, that could be express'd by a Prince who had Reason to believe that

his

his Dignity and Kindness would procure him a hearty Welcome. After he had congratulated his happy Return to the Kingdom, he told him, that he was extreamly glad that he had had an Occasion to contribute to his Advancement, and began to complain in a very kind and obliging Manner, that he had not yet appear'd at the Court: And, in the general, he omitted no Expressions of Kindness and Civility that might appeale the Anger of that stubborn Prelate, and bring him back to a Sense of his

Duty.

The Archbishop, who was both vex'd and surpriz'd at that Prince's Arrival, answer'd his Caresses with a Constraint and Disturbance that appear'd vifibly in all his Actions: However, he entertain'd him with extraordinary Magnificence; but that was meerly an Effect of his Vanity, and design'd rather to display his Power and Riches, than to express his Joy and Gratitude for the Honour the Administrator had done him. Nor could he forbear, in the Heat of their Discourse, to reproach that Prince indirectly for using violent Methods, to obtain a Dignity which was only due to the Merits of his Father.

The Administrator, who was loth to quarrel with a Man whom he purposely came to oblige, began to justify his Election; but that haughty Prelate would not so much as condescend to hear his Reasons, and told him, with a great deal of Heat, that the Time would come, when a free Convention of the Estates would do Justice to his Father, and to all those who were distatisfied with the Government.

The Prince was equally surprized at the Archbishop's Threatnings, and incens'd at his Pride and Infolency: He retir'd with a Resolution to and le hold o der Pr pole in Pope, of tha

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employ all his Power and Interest to humble him; 1515. and lest the Court of Rome, which usually takes hold of such Occasions to extend its Authority, under Pretext of protecting the Clergy, should interpose in this Affair, the Administrator wrote to the Pope, to complain of the Infolence and ill Behaviour of that Prelate.

Not long after, the Pope return'd an Answer full of kind and obliging Expressions: He blam'd Trolle for his Turbulency and Ingratitude; and added, that he had sent Orders to his Legate, who was then at the Court of Denmark, to go immediately to Sweden, and in his Name, to admonish the Archbishop of

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But notwithstanding those specious Pretences, the Instructions he gave to his Legate were intended rather for a Compliment than a real Satisfaction; for tho' he seem'd to blame the Archbishop, he could not but rejoice in his Heart, that both he and the other Prelates of the Kingdom, whom the Court of Rome is wont always to look upon as her Subjects and Creatures, should extend their Power, and assume a Share in the Government of the And besides, the Popes had always bore a fecret Aversion to the Kings and Sovereigns of Sweden, fince those Princes had discontinued the Payment of the Tribute, usually call'd St. Peter's Pence. "Twas impos'd by King Olaus, as a Tax upon all his Subjects, when the Christian Religion was first Anno 940. introduc'd into the Kingdom; But most of his Suc-Bazins cessors refus'd to submit to an Imposition, which Hist. Ec. was equally injurious both to the Prince and to the Goica. Subjects.

Several Popes had in vain demanded that Tribute; and even some of them had darted their usu-Honorius al Thunders of Excommunication, but without ma-III. John XXII. Inking nocent VI.

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that the Court of Rome was at last oblig'd to give over its successless Attempts upon a People, whose Eyes were open'd rather by Policy than Learning, and who, by an early and unanimous Resolution, had shaken off the Fear of Ecclesiastical Censures. The Administrator was admonish'd by his Council, who were acquainted with the Inclinations and Politicks of the Court of Rome, not to rely upon the Pope's Assistance in so dangerous a Juncture: Nor did he place so much Considence in the Apostolical Letters, but at the same Time, he took more effectual Measures for the Desence and Preservation of his Authority.

He summon'd a Meeting of the Estates at Tellia, under Pretext that the Truce with Denmark was ready to expire; but in effect to procure a new Confirmation of his Title and Authority, and at the same time, to discover the Strength of the Archbi-

fhop's Party.

That Prelate, on the other hand, made it his Bufinels to gain more Friends to the King of Denmark, and to raise new Enemies to the Administrator: He exacted fresh Assurances of Fidelity from those of his Party, and even engag'd the Governors of the Castles of Stockholm and Nincoping in the Danish Faction. Afterwards, he sent a trusty Messenger to King Christiern, to give him an Account of the prefent Posture of Affairs, and of the Condition of his Party; and to intreat him to advance immediately at the Head of his Army, without staying for the End of the Truce, which he might eafily find feveral plausible Pretexts to violate: And besides, he order'd his Agent to assure him, that the Governors of the Castles of Stockholm and Nincoping would declare in his Favour, and receive his Forces into the Places under their Command.

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Christiern replied to these Solicitations, that it 1515. would not be sufficient to break the Truce, unless the Estates of Denmark would contribute to the War against Sweden; that he was endeavouring to engage the principal Persons of the Kingdom in that Design; that he believ'd he had already gain'd the Legate that was going to Sweden; that if the Negotiation of that Prelate should not be attended with Success, he would take Care to start some Difference betwixt the Two Nations, and push it on so far, that the Estates of Denmark should be oblig'd to take up Arms in the Defence of their Country.

In the mean time, the Estates of Sweden assembled at Tellia, where the Administrator had appointed them to meet; and he had the Pleasure to fee, that most of the Deputies were the same Perions who had contributed most effectually to his Advancement. This encourag'd him to fummon the Archbishop to repair thither, in order to his qualifying himself for his Office, by taking the usual Oath of Fidelity to the Estates: But that Prelate not daring to appear in an Assembly, where his Enemy had so strong a Party, shut himself up in the Fort of Steque, which was a Castle seated on the Top of a Hill, and equally fortify'd by Art and Nature. The Archbishop of Upfal had taken all imaginable Care to render it impregnable, according to the Rules that were observ'd in those Days; and besides, it was sufficiently secur'd by the Privileges of the Clergy, which made it an inviolable Sanctuary. The Archbishop call'd a Meetng of the Bishops, and others of his Faction, and the Assembly was held in that Castle, as if the Convention at Tellia had neither been free, nor awfully call'd. Thus both Parties were making Joan Mag. Preparations for an open Rupture, when John An-nus vit Ar. elo Arcemboldi, Pope Leo the Tenth's Legate in the chiep. Up. Northern Kingdoms, arriv'd in Sweden, and offer'd sal.

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1515. his Mediation to negotiate an Agreement betwix

the Archbishop and the Administrator.

The Legate was of a smooth and pliant Temper, extreamly polite and complaisant, and seem'd to make the getting of Money his principal Business, and the main Object of his Desires: He pretended, among his other Commissions, to be intrusted with a full Power to grant Licenses for the eating of Flesh on Fish-days, to those who would be at the Charge of purchasing a Dispensation. At the same time, he distributed Indulgences to all those who would contribute a certain Sum for the building of St. Peters Church at Rome. These new Projects for draining the People of their Money, were set on Foot about that Time, and carry'd a little too far by the Ministers of the Court of Rome, under the Pontificated Leo X. tho' perhaps without his Knowledge.

Arcemboldi scrap'd together those profitable Incomes, with all the Greediness of a Soldier that is sent to levy Contributions: He had sleec'd a Pan of Denmark, under the Protection of his Bulls; and not satisfy'd with the considerable Sums he had rais'd in that Kingdom, he put his Money out to Interest, or employ'd it in Merchandizing, when he

was preparing for his Departure to Sweden.

King Christiern was extreamly distaisfy'd with the Commission and Behaviour of that Legate who, under a religious Pretext, drew all the Money out of his Dominions; but he durst not express his Displeasure: He could not hope to succeed in his Design against Sweden, without the Assistance of the Clergy; and he was asraid, lest they would become his Enemies, if he should quarrel with the Cours of Rome. Thus he was forced to purchase the Favour of that Prelate, at the rate of expossing his Kingdom as a Prey to his Avarice: He over-loaded him with Caresses and Obligations during his Abode in Denmark, and at his Departure he received

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He pray'd him to employ the Interest and Authority to which his Character entitled him, for the Establishment of a firm and lasting Peace betwixt the Two Kingdoms: He affur'd him, that he was ready to content to any reasonable Expedients for the carrying on of fo good a Defign, provided the Swedes would engage to put the Treaty of Calmar in Execution. He added, that neither the Civil Wars, nor the most successful Rebellions, could be suppos'd to make void the Obligation of fo folemn a Treaty; that the Clergy, and all the honest Party in the Kingdom, look'd upon the Union that was agreed upon in that famous Assembly, as the truest Way to establish a solid and durable Peace betwixt the Two Nations; and that this was the only Fault which the Administrator could object against the Archbishop. He pray'd the Legate to protest that Prelate from the unjust Rage of a rash and insolent Youth; and concluded, that he hoped he would put some Difference betwixt a Captain of Rebels, and a Sovereign, whose Family had been always devoted to the Interest of the Holy Sec.

The Legate was not ignorant that the Court of Rome was extreamly well pleas'd with the Danes, and very much distatisfy'd with the Swedes; and besides he knew that King Christiern was ally'd to the House of Austria, for which the Pope had an extraordinary Respect; but the most prevailing Motive that engag'd him in that Prince's Service, was the Consideration of the Money he lest in the Kingdom, and of that which he hoped to get at his Return, in some Provinces where he had not yet publish'd his Indulgences. He assur'd the King, that he would prosecute his Designs with all imaginable Vigour and Zeal, and even infinuated to

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fions, and protect his Creatures; adding, that under the seeming Character of a Mediator, he would promote his Interest, and serve him with as much Fidelity and Affection, as he could expect to find in his own Ministers.

The King of Denmark relying upon these Protestations, discover'd his most secret Designs, and talk'd to him with more Freedom than a Prince ought to use with a Foreign Minister: He told him, that he was fure of the Castles of Stockholm and Nicoping; that all the Bishops were ready to receive him into the places that were under their Command; and that the Archbishop of Upfal, who manag'd the whole Defign, would come over to his Army, as foon as he should appear on the Frontiers of the Kingdom. He intreated the Legate to confer with that Prelate, if it were possible to keep any Correspondence with him, without giving People occasion to suspect the Design of their Conferences. He defir'd him also to concert with the Archbishop the furest and most convenient Methods to put their Project in Execution.

The Legate left Denmark with these Instructions, and as foon as he arriv'd at the Court of Sweden, he publickly exhorted the Administrator, and the Senate, in the Pope's Name, to conclude a firm and lasting Feace with Denmark. Some Days after, he demanded a private Audience of the Administrator, in which he entreated that Prince to grant the Honour of his Friendship to the Archbishop, and not to disturb that Prelate in the Posfession of a Dignity which the Pope conferr'd upon him merely at his Recommendation. Steno reply'd in few Words, and with a great deal of Courage and Resolution, that he would always receive his Holiness's Desires with Submission and Respect, and have an honourable Regard for the

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Person of his Legate; but withal he told him, that 1515. he ought in the first Place to offer his Advice and Admonitions to the Archbishop, who, he affur'd him, might enjoy his Dignity without the least Disturbance or Molestation, if he would return to Sense of his Duty.

The Legate, who only waited for an Occasion to enter upon the Subject of his Negotiation, told the Prince, that he had receiv'd Orders from the Pope, to offer and confult about the best Expedients for bringing the Difference betwixt him and the Archbishop to an amicable Agreement, and for establishing a firm and durable Peace between Sweden and Denmark; and that he perceiv'd that the latter could hardly be accomplish'd without the former: He pray'd him to accept the Mediation of the Holy see; he exhorted him to prefer a folid Peace before the uncertain Chance of War, which perhaps would not be equally agreeable to all the Estates of the Kingdom, and would make him odious even to the Nobility and Commons, if it should happen to be prolong'd beyond their Expectation, or if they should be disappointed of their Hope of Success.

This Discourse, and the Care the Legate took to confound the Archbishop's Affair with the King of Denmark's Pretentions, made the Administrator uspect the Intentions of that Prelate, who he concluded was gained by his Enemies, and acquainted with all their Defigns. He knew how much it was his Interest to discover the bottom of their froject; but 'twas not an easy Task for a young wedish Prince to pump a Secret out of an Italian relate, who had been train'd up in the Art of Difimulation in the Court of Rome. And therefore altead of endeavouring to unriddle the Mystery, n and Wover-reaching that crafty Minister, in an Art of which he was an absolute Master, he resolv'd to

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1515. attack him on the weak Side; and in Pursuance of that Defign, he intreated him, by the Advice of the Senate, to distribute his Indulgences in the Kingdom, affuring him, that during that time, he would take such Measures, as might be conducive to the publick Good, and agreeable to the Inclinationsof

the Holy Father.

This Contrivance had all the Success that could be desir'd: The Legate was extremely glad of so favourable an Opportunity of continuing his gainful Trade, with so fair a Prospect of Advantage, which was the only Design of his Legation to the Northern Countries: He was afraid, that if the Two Nations should come to an open Rupture, 'twould be impossible for him to pursue his Commission in Sweden, and that the tumultuous Confufion of War, would deprive him of the Profits of his Mission, for which 'twas thought he had advane'd a confiderable Sum to the Apostolical Chamber: And therefore as foon as he had obtain'd the Consent of the Administrator and Senate, he publish'd his Bulls through the whole Kingdom, and his Officers took Care to disperse them thro' all the Provinces. Those Under Collectors, or Licens'd Beggars, whom he carried about with him, were certain Persons who had farm'd the Right of publishing his Bulls, and were oblig'd to purchase their Leases for a considerable Sum of Moncy. 'Twas always his Custom to agree with the highest Bidder, without regarding the Qualifications of those mercenary Preachers, provided they could give him fufficient Security for the Payment of his Money.

The Administrator, either out of Policy or Devotion, seem'd very desirous of obtaining these Indulgences: He was very liberal on that Occasion; and in Imitation of his Example, the Senators, and all the Nobility, laid out confiderable Sums People. Market Souls; pious I feem'd which and w

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of Money on these Commodities. The common 1515. People, who are usually the best Customers at such Markets, emptied their Pockets to secure their Souls; every one was willing to contribute to the pious Design, and even the wildest Debauchees seem'd to grow fond of the modish Devotion, which the Administrator had brought into Fashion, and were easily persuaded to submit to a Penance that tended only to mortify their Purses.

Archemboldi amass'd a prodigious Treasure in Swe-vit, Archiden, and the Administrator suffer'd him to export ep. Vpsal. the Money in Specie, without paying any Customs for Duties. This was a very considerable Favour; Magni. for all the Princes of Germany exacted a third Part of the Profits of the Indulgences that were pub-

of his Kindness, he sent several magnificent Presents to the Legate, and among the rest, a considerable Quantity of rich Furs, and a very large Table of massy Silver.

lish'd in their Dominions. And as a farther Mark

The Administrator imagining that he had abfolutely gain'd the Legate by fo many obliging Demonttrations of his Favour, and by the Richness of his Presents, some time after took an Occasion to discourse with him in private. After he had complain'd of the Archbishop's Ingratitude, he told the Legate, that he had receiv'd a full Information of that Prelate's pernicious Designs; and that he was refolv'd either to bring him to a Sense of his Duty, or to make him leave the Kingdom. Arcemboldi was fo charm'd with that Prince's Liberality, that he acknowledg'd the Justice of his Resolution, and even could not forbear discovering the King of Denmark's Secret: He thought his Conscience oblig'd him to bestow his Favours, where he receiv'd the most bountiful Returns; and perhaps was atraid that the Administrator was already acquainted with the Instructions he had receiv'd from the

had rais'd in the Kingdom, if he should still continue to conceal so dangerous a Secret. Resolving then to make the best Advantage of a Discovery which perhaps he could not prevent, he gave the Prince a sull Account of the King of Denmark's Designs, of the Correspondence he entertain'd with the Swedish Clergy, and of the Insidelity of the Governors of the Castles of Stockholm and Ni-

coping.

Yet, for his own Security, he made the Administrator promise to carry on his Design with so much Prudence and Caution, that the Archbishop might not have the least Occasion to suspect that he had betray'd King Christiern's Secret. At his Return to Denmark, he seem'd to be extremely afflicted with the ill Success of his Negotiation: He told the King, that the Administrator was so exasperated against the Archbishop, that there was no Hope of a speedy Reconciliation; that in his Opinion, that Prelate was an Obstacle to the Re-establishment of the Treaty of Calmar; that he kept himself constantly shut up in the Castle of Steque, from whence he feem'd to threaten the Administrator with a Civil War; that he did not think it convenient to go thither, lest Steno should have suspected his Delign; that the Administrator was possess'd with an extraordinary Aversion against the Person of that Prelate; and that he had Reason to believe, that though 'twere possible to prevail with the Prince to refign his Dignity, he would never be perfuaded to confent to that Proposal, while he thought it might prove advantageous to his Ene-

The King of Denmark perceiving the ill Success of the Legate's Negotiation, concluded that he could never make himself Master of Sweden, but at the Head of a powerful Army. He consider'd also,

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that the Truce was not yet expir'd, and that he 1515. could not begin the War without the Confent and Approbation of the Estates of Denmark; and therefore he gave private Orders to his Admiral, to atfront the first Swedish Ships he should meet with, not doubting but that the Administrator would endeavour to revenge fuch an Indignity, by way of Reprizal or Retaliation, either by Land or Sea, which would oblige the Estates and Senate of Den-

mark to declare War against Sweden.

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In the mean time, the Administrator took all possible Care to frustrate the Designs of his Enemies; and resolv'd to make the best Improvement of the Legate's Discovery, without betraying his Secret: He inform'd the Senate, that several Perfons in the Kingdom were engag'd in a Conspiracy against the State, and that the Governors of Stockholm and Nicoping had betray'd their Trust, and were ready to receive the Enemies into the Places which they commanded. The Senate was alarm'd at the News of fo black a Defign, and pray'd him to secure the Traytors. He pretended to take a Review of the Garrison of Nicoping, and as foon as the Governor and Soldiers came out of the Fort, he order'd a new Garrison to take Poslession of the Place, under the Command of a Governor who was absolutely devoted to his Interest. At the same time, he gave Orders to arrest the Governor of the Castle of Stockholm, who attendedat Court according to his usual Custom. Then he call'd a Meeting of the Estates at Westeras, the Septemb. Capital City of Westmannia, where those two Go- 1516. vernors were accus'd of contriving and abetting a treasonable Design against their Country, and Commissioners were appointed to try them. The Fear of Punishment, and the Hope of a Pardon, made fo strong an Impression upon them, that they confess'd their Design to deliver up these Places

1516. Places to the King of Denmark, and accus'd the Archbishop, as the Author and Fomenter of the

Conspiracy.

The Administrator having this Advantage over him, resolv'd to proceed against him with the utmost Rigour; and in order to his Conviction, order'd him to be summon'd to give an Account of his Behaviour to the Estates. Some of the Senators, who were sensible of the dangerous Tendency of these Divisions, and dreaded the satal Consequences of an open Rupture, endeavour'd underhand to persuade the Archbishop to submit to the Administrator; and even offer'd him a safe Conduct, sign'd by the principal Members of the Estates, hoping to divert the threatning Storm, and to gain that stubborn Prelate by easy and gentle Methods.

The Archbishop was enrag'd to find that his Defigns were blasted by too early a Discovery: He complain'd to his Friends of the King of Denmark's Remissings and Neglect; and immediately sent one of his Creatures to that Prince, to acquaint him with the Danger to which his Party in Sweden was expos'd, and to hasten his March to that Kingdom. In the mean time, to amuse the Senate, he desir'd that a new Convention of the Estates might be summon'd, under Pretext, that the greatest Part of the Deputies that compos'd the Assembly at Westeras, were either the Creatures or Relations of his

declar'd Enemy.

The Estates were so incens'd at the Pride and Obstinacy of that rebellious Prelate, that they resolv'd to secure his Person, and bring him to a Trial: They intreated the Administrator to invest the Place where he resided; and at the same time Orders were given out to apprehend his Father, and such of his Friends and Relations as were suspected to be privy to his Designs against the Government, or might be suppos'd to be able and willing to take up Arms these p ture witter tor was Kingdo danger

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in his Defence. And fince they foresaw that 1516. these proceedings would infallibly occasion a Rupture with the King of Denmark, the Administrator was desir'd to raise the Militia, and to put the Kingdom in such a Posture, that it might not be in danger to be surprized by its Enemies.

Thus the Breach betwixt the Archbishop and the Estates, gave the Prince an Occasion to revenge a private Quarrel, under the Plausible Pretext of punishing a publick Enemy; and that he might not lose so favourable an Opportunity, he gave Orders immediately for a general Rendezvous of all the Nobility and Militia of the Kingdom: His Friends and Relations repair'd to his Assistance at the Head of their Forces, every one striving to signalize his Fidelity to his Country, and Assection to the Prince, in a War that was undertaken to maintain his Election, and to defend the Liberty of the Nation.

Among all the Noblemen who affifted the Administrator on this Occasion, there was none who express'd a more vigorous Zeal for his Interest than Gustavus Ericson, the Great Standard-Bearer of the Crown; a young Lord about fix and twenty Years of Age, descended from the ancient Kings of Sweden, and particularly from King Canution, who was his Great Uncle: He was the Son of Eric Vafa, Governor of Finland, and Coufin Germain to the Administrator, with whom he was educated. He had naturally a high and daring Spirit; his Soul was posses'd with an eager Desire of Glory, and infinitely more sensible of the manly Delights of Ambition, than of the fofter Charms of Pleasure. The Administrator divided his Favour and Confidence betwixt him and his Father: but the old Age of that Senator, and a certain Timoroulness that appear'd in all his Actions, made such an Impression upon the Prince, that though he

he did not esteem him less for these Disadvantages, 1516. he took more Pleasure in Gustavus, who, with an equal Solidity of Judgment, was Master of more Courage and Strength of Mind, and never propos'd any Designs or Expedients, but what were suitable to the Bravery, and agreeable to the Inclinations of

his young Master.

'Twas by his Advice, that the Prince resolv'd to give Fire-Arms to the Peasants, who, till then, had only, or for the most part, made use of Bows and The Administrator order'd a considerable Number of Muskets to be bought at Lubeck, and put on Board a Ship, which fet Sail immediately for Stockholm, but was taken by the Danish Admiral, as she came out of the Mouth of the This Act of Ho-Trave, which passes by Lubeck. stility ferv'd for a Declaration and Signal of a bloody War, which began betwixt the Two Nations, notwithstanding the Opposition made by the Estates of Denmark, who were defirous to continue the Truce.

The Administrator was not so discourag'd by this Loss, as to give over the Design he had form'd against the Archbishop: He put himself at the Head of the Militia or Infantry, which was the most numerous Body in his Army, and gave the Command of the Horse to Gustavus. The Bishops of Stregnez and Lincoping march'd before, under Pretext of interposing their Interest and Mediation, to bring their Primate to a Sense of his Duty; but their real Design was to give him Notice of the Strength and Condition of the Administrator's Forces. For though these Prelates were engag'd both by Interest and Inclination in the Danish Faction, as well as the Archbishop, they were more politick and cunning, and took care to conceal their real Sentiments, the Discovery of which could neither be advantageous to their Party, nor fafe for them-

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themselves, at a Time when the whole Nationwas 1516. in Arms for the Administrator. At their Arrival at Steque, they intreated the Archbishop to excuse them for not declaring against the Administrator, according to their Agreement at Upfal, assuring him, that they only waited till the King of Denmark should enter the Kingdom to support them: They advis'd him to reflect upon the Power and Strength of that Prince, who in a few Days would appear before the Walls of his Castle, at the Head of a numerous Army; and concluded with telling him, that 'twould be an Action worthy his Prudence, to divert the impending Storm, and amuse the young Prince with a feeming Submission, from which he might eafily disengage himself, as soon as they should meet with a more favourable Juncture to put their Defigns in Execution.

The Archbishop rejected the Advice of his politick Suffragans with Anger and Disdain, and chid them for their Weakness, which he branded with the Names of Treason and Cowardice: He told them, he had receiv'd Advice by an Envoy from Denmark, that Christiern was preparing to invade Sweden with all his Forces; that his Fleet was fitted out, and ready to make a Descent; that the Administrator was not in a Condition to oppose so potent an Enemy, that he hoped in a little time to see the King of Denmark seated on the Swedish Throne, and that they had Reason to fear that he would be reveng'd on his false Friends, as well as on his declar'd Enemies. The Bishops finding that their Remonstrances serv'd only to exasperate their fierce and stubborn Primate, retir'd, to give Place to the Administrator's Army, which at the same time appear'd before the Castle.

The Prince hoped to carry the Place before the Danes could be able to make a Diversion; but he had scarce open'd the Trenches, when he was in-

form'd

Stockholm, and were destroying the Country with Fire and Sword. Upon this Advice, he divided his Army, and leaving the Infantry to guard the Lines, he march'd with the Cavalry towards the Enemy, accompained with Gustavus, and follow'd by all the Swedish Youth, who long'd for an Occasion to fignalize their Courage under the Command and in the Presence of their Prince.

The Administrator met the Danes near the Castle August of Wedel; and Gustavus was the first who charg'd them at the Head of a Squadron: The Action was very bloody, and the Victory was for some time disputed on both Sides with all the Obstinacy which is usually observ'd in those first Encounters, on the Event of which the Honour of the Nation, and the Success of the Campaign, seems to depend. But at last the Danish Troops were deseated, and the greatest Part of them cut to Pieces: Those who had the good Fortune to escape, made a disorderly Retreat

The Prince ascrib'd all the Glory of this impor-

tant Action to Gustavus, who, after he had attack'd the Enemies with a great deal of Vigour, ran into the midst of them with his Sword in his Hand, and pursu'd them to their Vessels, without giving them 'Twas upon this Occasion, that the time to rally. Prince began to consider him as an useful Person, whom before he had only lov'd as an agreeable Conpanion: He admir'd the surprizing Genius of that young Lord, his eager Inclination to War, his Courage, Valour, and above all, the extraordinary Presence of Mind he had shewn in the first Esfay of his Arms. He was the best Judge of such Qualities as these, and naturally inclin'd to prefer them before other Endowments; and consequently they made a stronger and more lasting Impression upon his Mind.

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After so considerable a Success, the Prince led 1517. back his victorious Troops to the Siege of Steque. The Archbishop was extremely alarm'd at the News of the entire Defeat and Flight of the Danes, who abandon'd him to the Mercy of his Enemies; for he imagin'd that the King of Denmark would have taken more effectual Measures to support and relieve him. The Bishops, and the rest of his Party were so over-aw'd by the Prince's Power, that they durst not declare against him; and even those who were most suspected, were either secur'd, or driven out of the Places that were under their Command. In the mean time, the Befiegers carried on their Works to the Foot of the Wall; but though the Archbishop was not able to make a longer Resistance, the natural Pride and Fierceness of his Temper, and his implacable Aversion against the Administrator, would not suffer him to condescend to a Treary: He defended the Castle for fome Days with all the Fury and Obstinacy of a desperate Man, who resolves to bury himself under the Ruins of the Walls that enclose him; but the Officers of the Garrison were of another Opinion, and fearing to be treated as Rebels, if the Place should be storm'd, and they found in Arms against their Prince and Country, forc'd their haughty Governor to capitulate.

He desir'd to treat with the Administrator in Perfon, and offer'd to come to his Tent, provided Gustavus should be deliver'd as a Hostage. Steno consented to that Proposal, and Gustavus enter'd the Castle at the same time that the Archbishop came out of it, in order to attend the Administrator. But he was so scar'd with a Sense of his Guilt, that he durst neither rely upon the Exchange, nor the Faith of a Treaty, which is reckon'd an inviolable Security, according to the Law of Nations. And therefore knowing how dear Gustavus was to the Prince,

that

that he might at least have the Pleasure to taste the cruel Delights of Revenge, he lest Orders with the Officers of the Garrison, to cause that Lord to be hang'd on the Battlements of the Castle, if they should receive Advice that the Administrator treated him as a Prisoner.

When he came before the Prince, heask'd Leave to capitulate with as much Confidence, as if he had been defending the Place for the Service of his Country, against the publick Enemies of the Nation: But the Administrator, desiring that the Obstinacy of that Prelate might be reputed a Crime against the State, and a downright Rebellion, refus'd to enter into a Treaty; and in the Name and Behalf of the Estates of Sweden, requir'd that a Garrison might be put into the Castle. He told the Archbishop, that 'twas the Senate's Business to give Judgment concerning his Behaviour; and to regulate the Conditions of the Treaty; adding, that he would not appear in the Senate till they had decided that Affair; and that he would neither be his Friend nor his Judge, since he refus'd to ac-

knowledge his Authority. The Archbishop, who was still as haughty and infolent as ever, imagin'd that the Administrator, notwithstanding his seeming Resolution, referr'd the Decision of their Difference to the Senate, on purpose that some of the Members of that illustrious Body might offer their Mediation, in order to a friendly Agreement. Upon this Consideration, he furrender'd the Castle to the Prince, and having obtain'd a safe Conduct or Protection, took a Journey to Stockholm, accompained with a numerous Train of his Followers, and attended with as magnificent an Equipage, as if he had triumph'd over all his Enemies: He fancied that his Interest with the King of Denmark would strike such a Terror into his Judges, that they would think themselves

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abundantly fatisfy'd by his pretending to be inno- 1517. cent; concluding, that they would look upon his Revolt as a private Quarrel betwixt him and the Administrator, occasion'd by the Jealousy of the Government, and would expect no other Satisfaction, than a bare Acknowledgment of that Prince's Au-

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But he was quickly made fensible of his Error, and of the Vanity of his airy Hopes; for as toon as he arriv'd at Stockholm, they began to proceed against him with Vigour. The Senate finding that they might safely rely upon the affistance of the Administrator, who was still at the Head of his Army, gave Judgment against that Prelate; and the Bishops of Lincoping, Stregnez, and Scara, who were Members of that Body, were obliged to submit to the Plurality of Voices, and to subscribe his Condemnation, for fear of being suspected and prosecuted as Favourers and Abettors of his Rebellion. He was declar'd an Enemy to his Country, and 'twas ordain'd by the Senate, that he should immediately refign his Title to the Archbishoprick; that he should retire to a Monastery to do Penance for all the Disturbances his Ambition had rais'd in the Kingdom; that the Fort of Steque, which had encourag'd the Danes to invade Sweden, and under the former Archbishops had been always made a Sanctuary and Retiring-place for Rebels and disaffected Persons, should be demolish'd; that publick Thanks should be given to the Administrator, for his Diligence in stifling the Rebellion; and that the whole Kingdom should unanimously concur to maintain the Authority of that Prince, and the Decree of the Senate, in Case the Pope, thro' Missinformation or Prejudice, should endeavour to restore the Archbishop.

1517.

This Decree was enter'd in the publick Registers, fign'd by all the Senators, Spiritual and Temporal, and in Execution of these Orders, the Fort of Steque was demolish'd, and the Archbishop torc'd to renounce his Dignity: He deliver'd his Resignation in full Senate, to be transmitted to the Pope; but at the same time, he sent one of his Creatures to Rome, to complain of these violent Proceedings, and to

beg the Protection of the Holy See.

The King of Denmark engag'd all his Friends at the Court of Rome, to employ their Interest to support and defend that Prelate, whose Abdication had blasted all his Designs, and ruin'd his Party in Sweden: He was rather irritated than discourag'd at the Deseat of his Forces, and made new Levies to invade Sweden during the next Campaign; for the Estates of Denmark thought themselves obliged to revenge the Loss they sustain'd at Wedel: He sent to Muscovy to sollicit the Gzar to declare against the Administrator; and endeavour'd to prevail with the Pope to join his Ecclesiastical Thunders to the Forces with which he design'd to attack that Prince.

His Importunity, and the Archbishop's Complaints, made to great an Impression upon the Pope, that he order'd his Legate Arcemboldi, who was still in Denmark, to return immediately to Sweden, and require the Administrator to put the Archbishop in Possession of his Office and Dignity, upon Pain of Excommunication. The Legate, at his arrival in Sweden, employ'd all his Interest and Rhetorick to persuade that Prince to give the Pope Satisfaction: He represented to him in private, with an Ingenuity and Freedom that were not fuitable to his Character, but seem'd to be the Effects of their former Friendship, and a Requital of the Administrator's Kindness, that the anger and dissatisfaction of the Court of Rome, were terrible to the greatest Monarchs;

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narchs; that he ought to dread and avoid the fatal Consequences of an Excommunication; that in such a Case, the People, as well as the Clergy, would forsake him; that even his Friends and most devoted Creatures, would hardly venture to incur the Censure and Indignation of the Church; that since both his Honour and Revenge was satisfy'd by the Archbishop's Resignation, he had a fair Opportunity to lay an Obligation upon the Holy See; and that the Pope would by that Means be engag'd to be Surety for that Prelate's good Behaviour.

The Administrator communicated the Pope's Message to the Senate, and acquainted them both with his Defires and Menaces. The Bishops of Lincoping, Stregnez, and Scara, who had been forc'd to ligh the Archbishop's Sentence, seconded the Legate's Proposal with a great deal of Vigour, but were unanimously oppos'd by the Lay-Senators, who were the most powerful and numerous Part of the Assembly: They told the Administrator, that he ought not to be icar'd at the Thunders of the Vatican, fince their Strength and Efficacy depended merely upon the Weakness and Credulity of those against whom they were pointed; that the Contrivances and Machinations of the Court of Rome were always cover'd with a religious Disguise; that Scorn and Contempt was the best Security against such Menaces; that the Pope was incens'd against them for denying his Tribute; and that the King of Denmark, in Conjunction with Leo X. follicited the Restauration of a Rebel to his former Power and Dignity, that he might afterwards, by his affiltance, make himself Master of the Kingdom.

Steno, by their advice, answer'd the Legate, that he could not imagine what Motives should induce the Pope to undertake the Defence of a Traytor, who was seiz'd in actual Rebellion against his Country, and deserv'd to be punish'd with Death,

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Nation; that his Character and Dignity could not be supposed to protect him from the just Indignation of his injur'd Sovereign; that his Judges thought they had pronounc'd a very favourable Sentence against him, by condemning him only to perpetual Imprisonment; that his Brethren of the Clergy had sign'd his Condemnation, and that his Judgment could not be revers'd, without exposing the Kingdom to new and fatal Disorders.

The Experience he had formerly had of the Legate's Temper, made him resolve to strengthen these Reasons with a more prevailing and demonstrative Argument; and therefore, after he had soften'd him with several considerable Presents, he offer'd him the Archbishoprick of Upsal, and engag'd to obtain a Decree of the Estates in his Favour, empowering him to hold that Benefice during his Life, without

being obliged to refide in the Kingdom.

The Legate was fo dazzl'd with the tempting Prospect of filling his Coffers with the Revenues of fo fat a Benefice, that he forgot his Commission, and thought he might plead a sufficient Excuse for neglecting to execute the Orders he had receiv'd from the Pope: He embrac'd the alluring Proposal with Joy, and in Testimony of his Gratitude to his Benefactor, he approv'd all that he had done, and publickly blam'd the Archbishop: He wrote to Rome against that Prelate, and affur'd the Pope, that he had justly drawn upon himself the Indignation of the Administrator and Estates of Sweden, by rebelling against his Country. At the same time he follicited all his Friends to employ their Interest with the Holy Father, to procure a Confirmation of the Sentence pronounc'd against that Prelate, and Leave to appear a Candidate at the approaching Election. But the Pope rejected his Request, and absolutely refus'd to grant the Permisfion

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fich that was requir'd to qualify him for that Dignity; either out of Regard to the House of Austria
and the King of Denmark, who declar'd in Favour
of the Archbishop; or as a Mark of his just Resentment for the Offence he had given by his scandalous
Way of distributing Indulgences in the North.

Upon the Administrator's Refusal to restore the Archbishop, the Pope discharg'd his Thunders against the whole Kingdom, and particularly against the Administrator and Senate, whom he excommunicated: Besides, he ordain'd them to rebuild the Fort of Steque at their own Charge, and to pay a Hundred thousand Ducats, as a Fine, to the Archbishop. The Bull was directed to Theodore Archbishop of Lunden in Denmark, and the Bishop of Odensee in Fuenen, who, at King Christiern's Sollicitation, were entrusted with the Care of publishing it; and that Prince was desir'd to put it in Execution, and to treat the disobedient Swedes as excommunicated Persons, and obstinate Schismaticks.

The Suddenness of so terrible a Blow surpriz'd all Europe, and the Swedes were extremely offended at the last Article of the Bull, which committed the Execution of it to the King of Denmark: They faid, that it did not become the common Father of Christendom to fide with either of the contending Parties, much less to make use of his Power which was altogether spiritual, to protect a Rebel and a Traytor, and to authorize a Prince, who endeavour'd to make himself Master of their Liberties and Fortunes. The Senate issu'd out a strict Order, prohibiting all Persons to give Obedience to the Bull under severe Penalties: And the Administrator took all possible Care to put himself in a Condition to oppose the Danish Army, without which he was not much afraid of all the Thunders of the Vatican.

The Legate perceiving that 'twould be scandalous to reside longer at the Court of a Prince whom his 1518.

May.

1518. his Master had excommunicated, was forced to leave Sweden, and to relinquish his Expectation of the Archishoprick of Upfal. At his Return to Denmark, he found King Christiern drawing his Forces together, in order to his Expedition against Sweden. As foon as that Prince receiv'd the Pope's Bull, he enter'd into that Kingdom at the Head of his Army, and immediately began to destroy the Country with Fire and Sword, to stun the Swedes with terrible Apprehensions of his Vengeance: But at the same time, to give some Colour of Justice and Religion to those Barbarities which he committed purely out of Revenge, he caused the Bull to be folemnly affix'd in all the Places where he left the Marks of his Fury, as if he had only come with a

Defign to execute the Pope's Orders.

Some time after, he fat down with all his Forces before Stockholm, hoping that the Terror of his Arms, the Consternation of the Citizens, and especially the Fear of Excommunication, would occasion some Tumult that might be improv'd to his Advantage: But the Governor and Magistrates of the City took such effectual Measures to keep the People in Order, that there was not the least appearance of any Disturbance. The Inhabitants were posses'd with so strong an aversion against the Danes, that they resolv'd to defend the Town to the last Extremity; and the Burghers, mingled with the Soldiers of the Garrison, made frequent and furious Sallies. The Besiegers found every where an incredible Refistance; every Foot of Ground which they gain'd, cost them the Lives of a great Number of their Men; and they were oftentimes beaten out of those Posts in the Day, which they had surpriz'd during the Obscurity of the Night. The Garrison made a continual Fire, which did a great deal of Execution; and besides, the Danes suffer'd extremely for want of necessary Provisions.

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The King was advis'd by his Officers to retire, 1518. before the Swedes came up, who were upon their wo March to relieve the Town; but he was fo incens'd against the Burghers for their vigorous Refistance, that he resolv'd obstinately to continue the Siege. In the mean time, the Administrator was putting himself in a Condition to march against the Enemy with all the Forces of the Kingdom. The whole Nation took the Alarm, and ran to Arms with an incredible ardor: Every Man thought himself concern'd in the Defence of the Common Cause, and all the Provinces of the Kingdom feem'd to be animated with a Spirit of Revenge and Fury. Thus instead of an Army of regulated Troops, the Administrator saw himself at the Head of a vast Body of tumultuary Forces, who, without waiting for Orders, took up arms for the Preservation of their Liberty. The whole Country was overspread with Swarms of Peasants, who came flocking to the general Rendezvous, some descending from the Mountains, and others running out of the Woods. Most of these savage Warriors were cloath'd with the Skins of wild Beafts, and arm'd after a very odd and even ridiculous Manner; but they were inspir'd with a certain undaunted Fury, that supply'd the Place of Bravery, and made them resolve to spend the last Drop of their Blood in the Defence of their Country.

The Administrator having affembled all his Forces, July. march'd strait towards the King of Denmark, who fearing to be inclosed betwixt the Swedish Army and the City, rais'd the Siege, and retir'd to his Ships. But the Swedes taking Advantage of the Motion his Troops were oblig'd to make, in order to their Retreat, charg'd them so vigorously, that the Rear of the Danish Army was almost entirely defeated: They fled to the Shore with so much

1518.

Precipitation and Disorder, that the greatest Part of them were cut to Pieces; and many of those who escap'd the Fury of the Pursuers, were drown'd in attempting to swim to their Vessels. The Swedes made themselves Masters of all the Baggage, and took above Three hundred Prisoners, who, for the most Part, were Officers and Persons of Note, that halted to fuffain the Shock of the Enemy while the Soldiers were embarking, and with the Loss of their Liberty, preserv'd the King himself, and the greatest

Part of his Army.

But this was not the only Misfortune which attended that difastrous Expedition; for the Danes were detain'd above three Months in the Road of Stockholm, by contrary Winds, and at last were so straiten'd for want of Provisions, that they were forc'd to make frequent Descents to supply their Necessities. But they were perpetually repuls'd by the Swedish Cavalry, under the Command of the brave Gustavus, who was always in Motion, and oblig'd them to retire with Precipitation to their Ships. His Courage and Vigilancy produc'd fo good an Effect, that the Danish Fleet was reduc'd to the utmost Extremity: They had neither Water nor Vietuals, and there was a great Mortality among The King himself was in Danger of the Soldiers. perishing, either for want of Provisions, or by the contagious Distempers that began to break forth in his Army.

To deliver himself out of so miserable a Condition, he fent a Meffenger to the Administrator, with Orders to propose a Truce for some Days, under pretext of treating about the Ransom of the Soldiers. After the Envoy had deliver'd his Message, he infinuated dextroufly, that 'twould not be impossible to change the Truce to an eternal Peace betwixt the two Nations. The Administrator was

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mot ignorant of the Extremity to which Christiern 1518. was reduc'd, and knew that he might easily compleat his Victory, by starving his Enemy: but either out of Generosity, or in hopes of procuring a solid Peace, which would have secured him in the Possession of his Dignity, he consented immediately to the Truce, and sent several Boats laden with Provisions for the Use of the King, and all his Navy.

christiern perceiving that the Administrator was extreamly desirous of a Peace, imagined that this might furnish him with an Opportunity to make himself Master of his Person. He pretended to be overcome by that Prince's Generosity, and acknowledg'd himself extreamly oblig'd to him for the sca-sonable Relief he had sent him. Some time after, he proposed an Interview on Board the Fleet, whither he invited the Administrator, in order to treat about a Peace; and for the Security of his Person, he sent several of the most considerable Persons in his Army to the Court at Stackholm

his Army to the Court at Stockholm.

The Prince, who was naturally of a very free and candid Temper, was eafily persuaded to give him that Satisfaction, but the Senate opposed his Relolution, either because they suspected that there, was some treacherous Design hidden under so plausible a Pretext, or were refolv'd to maintain the Honour of the State in the Person of the Administrator. In compliance with their Defire, Steno fent back the Hostages with fresh Supplies of Provisions, and a Message to the King of Denmark, by which he acquainted him, that he would have willingly confented to the Interview on Board the Fleet, but that the Senate thought it more convenient, that the Treaty should be manag'd by Commissioners from both Sides, in some Place on the Frontiers; that should be mutually agreed upon.

1518.

Christiern perceiving that the Administrator had resolved the Snare that was laid for him, resolved upon another Project to facilitate the Execution of his Designs: He dreaded the Valour of Gustavus, and the Authority of his Family in the Kingdom; and besides, he had a particular spight against him, For his affection and Fidelity to the Administrator, He projected a Contrivance, to make himself Master of his Person, and of five or fix other Lords in the Swedish Army, imagining, that by threatning to put these Officers to Death, he might oblige the Administrator to consent to the Re-establishment of the Treaty of Calmar; or at least, hoping to create a Difference betwixt the Prince and the most confiderable Families in the Kingdom, if he should refuse upon any Terms to save the Lives of Gustavus and his Companions.

> In Pursuance of this Design, he propos'd an Interview in the City of Stockholm, offering to repair thither with some of his Council, provided Gustavus, and fix other Lords, whom he should name, should be deliver'd as Hostages for the Security of his Person: And to make both the Prince and Senate senfible that 'twas their Interest to comply with this Expedient, he represented to the Administrator, that they might come to a more speedy Agreement by conferring together, than by employing Plenipotentiaries, who usually consume a great deal of Time in debating about the Preliminaries of a

Treaty.

Lawrence Thus the Senate was obliged to confent to a Sigonis, Olaiis Ry. Proposal, which they could not reject with any ning, Ben. Shadow of Reason. As soon as Gustavus and the net Nicho-other Hostages appear'd on the Shore, the Danish laii, George Admiral, follow'd by a confiderable Number of Officers, advanc'd to falute them; and at the fame Heming time, Gadde.

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guis'd like Mariners, who had come ashore during the Truce, under Pretext of buying Strong-Waters, and other Provisions.

Then the Admiral desir'd them to go in his Boat to salute the King, who was coming to see the Administrator. Gustavus would have willingly declin'd the Compliment, and waited till the King was landed; but he saw so many Danes about him, that he chose rather to comply with a seeming Chearfulness, then to make an useless Resistance.

than to make an useless Resistance. Thus he and his Companions went on Board, and were immediately carry'd before the King, who commanded them to be arrested and disarm'd, contrary to his own Promise, and to the Law of Nations. Afterwards he fent Word to the Administrator, that he would order them to be beheaded as Rebels and excommunicated Persons, if he would not immediately consent to restore the Archbishop, and re-establish the Treaty of Calmar. Steno was fo incens'd at fo base a Piece of Treachery, that he mann'd immediately all the Boats and Ships in the Harbour. The Noblemen who were then in David the City, and especially the Friends and Relations Chysraus. of the Prisoners, leap'd into the first Boats they lib. 7. P. could meet with. The Prince himself went on 200. Loc-Board a Frigate, which he found ready fitted, p. 196. and fet Sail with his little Fleet, refolving with Edit. Upfathese Boats to attack the Danish Men of War, and lieu. Foeither to release the Hostages, or perish in the At-ann. Maghad taken the Advantage of a foreverble Color the p. 780. had taken the Advantage of a favourable Gale that Olaus began to blow some Hours before, and set Sail Magnus, lib. 16. tor Denmark.

> p. 289. Edit. Lug-King dun.

1518

King Christiern left no Means unattempted to corrupt the Fidelity of Gustavus and his Companions: But they refisted with equal Steddiness and Courage all his Promiles and Threats, and could neither be scar'd nor flatter'd into a Compliance with his Desires. Their Resolution and Constancy had almost cost them their Lives; for the King finding that he could not gain them, and dreading the Courage and Indignation of Gustavus, if he should be oblig'd to release him, gave secret Orders to put them to Death. But the Danish Officer, whom he entrusted with that Commission, abhorring so barbarous an action, and fearing perhaps the Law of Retaliation, if by the Chance of War he should fall into the Hands of the Swedes, took the Liberty to tell his Master, that the Death of these Lords would be prejudicial to his Interest; whereas, by detaining them Prisoners, he might keep their Relations in awe. These Considerations made fo great an Impression upon the King, that he contented himself with imprisoning 'em in the Castle of Copenhagen, where they were so cruelly treated by his Order, that some of 'em ended their Days in that miserable Condition.

Eric Banner, a Danish Lord, pitying the hard Fate of Gustavus, who was his kinsman, begg'd him of the King, upon his Parole of Honour; and that he might the more easily obtain a Suit of that Nature, from that jealous and distident Prince, he assured him, that the only Reason that made him wish to have that young Lord in his House, was, that he might have an Opportunity to gain so considerable a Friend to his Majesty. That Consideration prevail'd with Christiern to grant his Request; but on Condition that he should carry his Prisoner to the Castle of Calo in Jutland, of which he was Governour, and should pay 6000 Crowns of Gold

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The Generous Banner thought no Conditions oo hard to fave the Life of his Kinfman, which he believ'd was not secure in the Castle of Coenhagen. He carried him to Calo, and endeayour'd by a kind and civil Entertainment, to October. make him forget the Misery he had suffer'd at Copenhagen. The Good Mien, majestick Air, and graceful Behaviour of that Prince, produced their usual Effect upon the Mind of his friendly Jaylor, who, after some time, allow'd him the Liberty. of walking abroad, and fuffer'd him to take the Diversion of Hunting. New Recreations were proposed to him every Day, and it seem'd to be the main Business of the Family, to please him: But all the Pleasures he enjoy'd in so obliging a Society, could neither make him forget that he was a Prisoner, nor give him the least Satisfaction, while his Confinement depriv'd him of a Share in the Hazard and Glory of the War. His eager Defire to serve the Administrator in the Defence of his Country, and at the same time to execute his just Vengeance on the perfidious Author of his Captivity, made him so uneasy, that the most studied Delights serv'd only to increase his Melancholy.

On the other Hand, King Christiern's Thoughts were so deeply fix'd on the Conquest of Sweden, and his Mind was so agitated with the tumultuous Motions of a disappointed Ambition, that his Spite against the Administrator was exasperated by the ill Success of the Siege of Stockholm. He could not forgive that Prince, for obliging him to make so disorderly and ignominious a Retreat, and cutting off part of his Army. He was both vexed and

ashamed

and the Law of Nations, to no Purpose, by detaining Gustavus and the rest of the Hostages; but nothing afflicted him more sensibly than the daily Decrease of his Party in Sweden: His Mind became a dismal Scene of Spite, Rage, and Shame; and in the Heat of his Fury, he resolv'd to make a last Effort the next Campaign, to repair all his Losses by the Ruin of his Enemy, hoping that the Success of his Arms would, in some measure, justify him for proceeding against the Swedes as rebellious Subjects, and excommunicated Wretches, without allowing them the Treatment which is usually granted to common Enemies.

He stood equally in Need of Men and Money to carry on his Defigns; and to supply the last of these Deficiencies, he gave Orders to his Officers to seize the Legate Arcemboldi's Treasures, under Pretext that he had laid out the Money he had rais'd by the Sale of Indulgences on contraband Goods: But his Gilt really confifted in a Million of Florins, which he was going to carry out of the Northern Kingdoms, and in holding Intelligence with the Administrator. The King had heard of the ill Offices he did to the Archbishop, and was not ignorant that he had oblig'd all his Friends to make use of their Interest with the People to obtain the Archbishoprick of Upsal. And from thence he concluded, that the Dignity to which he aspir'd with the Administrator's Consent, was the Reward of his betraying the Secret, with which he had entrusted him to that Prince, and that his Infidelity had ruin'd the Danish Faction in Sweden. The Prospect of so profitable a Revenge, was, in his Opinion, a fufficient Ground to excuse an open Violation of the Law of Nations: He caus'd the Legate to be fecur'd,

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o be ir'd, be oblig'd to restore the Treasure he had seiz'd, or which the Function and Character of that Prelate entitled him, he gave secret Orders to suffer him to steal out of the Kingdom, after he had been kept for some time in perpetual Fear of Death, that he might take hold of the sirst Opportunity to make his Escape. By this Usage of the Legate, it appear'd that the seeming Zeal of that Prince, in executing the Orders of the Holy See, was only a politick Contrivance to carry on his ambitious Designs, which he endeavour'd always to cover with a Pretext of Religion.

He employ'd the Legate's Money in making new Levies, and impos'd heavy and unulual Taxes upon his Subjects, without the Advice or Consent of the Estates. The Clergy and Nobility oppos'd these Innovations, and positively refus'd to contribute towards the raising of the Supplies, under Pretext, that neither the Taxes, nor the Declaration of the War were authoriz'd or approv'd either by the Senate or Estates: But their real Design was to put a Stop to his Ambition, and curb the Impetuosity of his Temper, for they were extremely jealous of his Designs; and, perhaps, were not less afraid than the Swedes, of the Success of his Arms.

Lethe mean time, he squeez'd considerable Sums out of the common People, who are usually the first who feel the Burthen of Taxes, and are seldom or never assisted by the Nobility and other Estates, who content themselves with securing themselves. He levy'd Foreign Troops with the Money he had rais'd by these Impositions; he invited all the Soldiers of Fortune, and straggling adventurers that would enter into his Service, and

even

even preferr'd them before the Danes, in the Distribution of Offices and Places, that his Arms might be lodg'd in the Hands of those who depended entirely upon him. At the same time he prevail'd with Francis I. King of France, to affift him with 4000 Foot, under the command of Gaston de Breze, the Prince of Foucarmount, and the Baron of Gondrin. Thus, in a little Time, he had the Pleafure to see himself at the Head of a numerous Army, which made him equally terrible to his Subjects and Enemies: He conferr'd the Title and authority of General on Otho Crumpein, who was esteem'd one of the greatest Captains in the North, and entrusted him with the Management of his Designs, and the Command of his Forces, not daring to leave Copenhagen at a Time when there were so many visible Signs of a general Dissatisfaction among the Senators, and the principal Lords of the Kingdom.

1519. Febr.

Otho led his Army to Westgothland, where he made a terrible Havock, to draw the Enemy to an Engagement. In the mean time, the Administrator march'd at the Head of his Army, follow'd by Ten thousand Peasants of that Province, who came voluntarily to his affiftance: He encamp'd at the Entry of the Forest of Tyvede, having order'd a great Number of Trees to be cut down, to fortify his Camp and Trenches. Otho pretended to be fomewhat daunted at the Sight of the Swedish Forces, and retreated with a feeming Precipitation to the Lake Veler, which was at that Time cover'd with Ice, upon which he encamp'd with his whole Army. Steno was so transported at the Sight of a flying Enemy, that he was not Master of so much Presence of Mind, as to restrain the impetuous ardor of his Courage.

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He left his Infantry and the Peasants in the Wood, 1519. where they lay entrench'd, and march'd with his Cavalry after the Danes, whom he attack'd . near Bogefund. His Valour and Example inspir'd all the Soldiers in his Army, with a Resolution to conquer or die. He charg'd at the Head of a Squadron compos'd of the principal Noblemen of the Kingdom; he drove back all that durst venture to stand the Shock of his attack, and broke through their thickest Ranks with so brave a Fury, that he was just ready to taste the Pleasure of lo glorious a Victory, when one of his Legs was shot off by a Cannon-bullet. The Swedes were to dishearten'd at the Sight of their General's Misfortune, that they began to shrink and give ground. The Danish General was too well acquainted with the art of War, to neglect so fair an Opportunity of fnatching the Victory out of the Hands of a staggering and dismay'd Enemy: And therefore as foon as he perceiv'd their Disorder, he order'd his Cannon to be charg'd with Cartouches, and pointed at the Swedish Cavalry, and at the same time he brought up his Infantry, who made a continual Fire. The Swedish Cavalry having lost the Spirit that animated them, maintain'd a running Fight for some time; but at last fearing to be furrounded, they fled with the utmost Precipitation and Confusion. During the general Disorder, the Administrator was carry'd off upon a Sledge by his Servants, and dy'd of his Wound near Stregnez, as they were bringing him to Stockholm. He was extreamly valiant; but his undaunted Courage was not accompany'd with an equal Dexterity in the Management of Affairs: In a word, he was a better Soldier than a Statelman, and fitter to command a Party, than to govern a Kingdom. Otho,

to obtain a Victory, gave Orders to his Troops to march immediately against the Swedish Infantry, and the Peasants who guarded the Pass of Tyvede: He imagin'd that he could easily force their Trenches, and commanded the Danish Foot to attack them; but the Swedes made so brave a Resistance, that their Enemies were obliged to retire with a considerable Loss.

The General, enrag'd at the Cowardice of his Men, order'd the French Infantry to renew the Attack; and at the same time went round the Trenches, to see whether he could discover an easier Passage, or a Place that was not fo strongly guarded. the mean time, the Prince of Foucarmont advanc'd at the Head of the French, and was the first Man who mounted the Rampart with his Sword in his Hand; but immediately after, received fo dangerous a Wound with an Arrow, that he fell into the Ditch. The French, as if the Fall of their Commander had been defign'd for a Signal, attack'd the Swedes with so obstinate a Fury, that they made themselves Masters of the Trenches, notwithstanding an incredible Refistance; and while they kept the Enemy in play, Otho open'd a Passage in another Place. Tho' the Swedes were extreamly weaken'd and fatigu'd by the Length of the Engagement, and furrounded on all Sides, they continued to make a very brave Defence: The Peafants, animated with Despair and Rage, ran into the thickest Battalions, neither expecting nor defiring to live, and even willing to die, provided they could revenge their Death by that of an Enemy. They were all cut to Pieces, except some who made their Escape in the Night, and fled to the Woods, from whence they return'd by degrees to their respective Habitations.

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The Danish General, perceiving that there were 1919. no Forces left to oppose him, pass'd thro' the Forest of Tyvede, and penetrated into the Heart of the Kingdom. There were no regulated Troops nor Militia on Foot, to make Head against the Enemy; the People generally fled to the remotest Provinces; the greatest Part of the Senators thut themselves up in their Castles; the Administrator's Widow retir'd to the Citadel of Stockholm, with the two young Princes her Children; and the Peasants dreading the Fate of their Countrymen, took Shelter in the Woods. There was no Possibility of putting a Stop to the Career of the publick Misfortunes, and retrieving the Honour of the Kingdom, but by proceeding to the Election of anew Administrator, who might have encourag'd and commanded the Nobility to make another, and more vigorous Effort, rally'd the Militia and scatter'd Troops, and oppos'd Christiern's Pretensions to the Crown of Sweden.

The Clergy employ'd all their Interest to prevent an Election, which they forefaw would be extreamly prejudicial to the Interest of that Prince. As foon as the Archbishop receiv'd advice of the Administrator's Death, he left the Monastery whither he had retir'd, and refuming the Authority which he had folemnly refign'd in the Senate, he march'd strait to Upfal, and made that City declare for the King of Denmark. The Bishops of Lincoping and Stregnez were always secret Abettors of the Danish Faction, but had declin'd fiding openly with either Party, while the Event of the War feem'd to be uncertain, took this Occasion to discover their real Inclinations: They publicky own'd the Justice and Reasonableness of the King of Denmark's Claim, and visited all the Places in their respective Dioceses, to hinder the Nobility from taking up Arms, flattering some with Hope 1519. Hope of Reward, and terrifying others with the Fear of Punishment: They endeavour'd to perfuade all forts of Persons, that Sweden was not in a Condition to result the Danes; that the late Administrator, by disobeying the Head of the Church, had provok'd the Indignation of Heaven, and receiv'd the just Reward of his Contumacy; that a new Election would only serve to increase the Guilt of the Nation, and expose it to utter Ruin; whereas 'twas in their Power to restore Plenty and Tranquility, by fubmitting to the Orders of the Holy See, and concluding a folid Peace with Denmark.

Eric Trolle. Eric Benedict Canut.

By fuch fubtle Infinuations they gain'd three Abrahami Senators and several Lords, whose Lands were most expos'd to the Fury of the Enemy. under Pretext of securing the Quiet and Safety of their Country, they perfuaded these Lords to fend Deputies to General Crumpein, to defire a Truce in the Name of the whole Nation; and to affure him, that in the mean time, they would take fuch Resolutions, as might be equally profitable to both Kingdoms, and agreeable to the King his Master.

> The cunning General would not absolutely deny their Request, but he took care they should not have Time to reflect upon their Condition, and upon their true Interest: He granted only a Truck for eleven Days, and during that Time he required that a Meeting of the Estates should be held at Upfal, where he would appear to acquaint them with his Master's Pretentions. The Archbishop who by his Office was the first Senator, call'd the Meeting, and the Clergy used all their Interest and Rhetorick to persuade the Nobility and Commons either to come in Person, or send Deputies to the Assembly; but the greatest Part of them refused positively to meet in a Place that had declar's

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declar'd for the Enemy. So that the whole Af- 1719. sembly consisted only of the Bishops, the three Senators whom they had gain'd, and some Lords of West-Gothland, who were scar'd into a Compliance by the Troops and Menaces of the Danish General. However the Archbishop open'd the Convention, which being intirely compos'd of his Friends and Creatures, was absolutely govern'd by him. In the mean time Otho repair'd to Upfal, accompany'd with the principal Officers of his Army, and required the Estates to abolish the Dignity and Office of an Administrator, and to re-establish the Union of Calmar, in favour of the King his Master. There was no need of using Arguments to persuade an Assembly that consisted of such Perions as were already engaged in the Danish Faction, either by Fear or Inclination. They prevented the General's Demands, abolish'd the Dignity of an Administrator, and condemn'd the Memory of those Princes who had born that Title, as Rebels against their lawful Sovereigns. And they were even so zealous to out-do each other, in haitening the intire Ruin of their Country, that Otho was oblig'd to moderate their Ardour, lest it should be suspected that the Treaty, which he concluded with the Estates, was only sign'd by Traytors, or at least by Persons whose Consent was extorted by violent Methods.

He promis'd in the Name of the King his Mafter, that the Laws and Privileges of the Kingdom should be preserv'd and maintain'd; that all the Articles of the Treaty of Calmar should be punctually observed; that the Prisoners, and particularly Gustavus Erickson, should be deliver'd without Ransom; and that no Person should be molested for engaging in any Party during the War, fince the Death of the Administrator Suanto. Then the Archbishop conferr'd the Title of King

of

whole Assembly, as if his Sovereignty had been acknowledg'd by all the Estates of the Kingdom. He sent also Circular Letters into all the Provinces, intimating the Conditions of the Treaty he had concluded, and requiring all the People to submit to the Resolution of the Estates, upon Pain of being prosecuted with the utmost Rigour for their Disobedience.

Afterwards Otho march'd with his Army into the remote Provinces of the Kingdom, to make the People acknowledge the Authority of his Mafter: He routed several Bodies of the Peasants, who could not bear the Sight of their Enemies, without putting themselves in a Posture of Defence. Their natural Courage was animated by all the Motions of Fury and Revenge; but they were equally destitute of Leaders and Fortune. After the Danish General had dispers'd the Rabble, who fought with more Impetuosity than Order, he detach'd several Parties, who burnt the Villages, pursu'd the Peasants to the Woods, and

destroy'd a prodigious Number of them.

The Archbishop, to terrify the rest with the Fear of a Punishment, which the superstitious Peafants dreaded more than Death it self, prohibited the Clergy to grant Christian Burial to those who died in Rebellion against the Prince that was authoriz'd by the Holy See. The Danish General destroy'd the Lands and Castles of those Lords who refus'd to acknowledge his Master; and at the same time entertain'd those who declar'd in his Favour with all the Demonstrations of Kindness and Civility. The Lords and Gentlemen, weakned by their mutual Divisions, were at last constrain'd to yield their Necks to the Danish Yoke, and the whole Kingdom was forc'd to submit to its new Master. The People ran to meet the ConConque on the Cities Stockhot the A first of in such the Tohis M the Ca

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Conqueror, and endeavour'd to make their Peace 1519. on the easiest Terms. The greatest Part of the Cities sent Deputies to promise Obedience; only Stockholm and Calmar perfitted in their Fidelity to the Administrator's Widow. Otho invested the first of these Cities, and canton'd his Troops about in fuch a manner, that 'twas impossible to relieve the Town by Land: Then he wrote to the King his Master, to acquaint him with the Success of the Campaign, and the Treaty that was concluded

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The News of the Reduction of Sweden was Novem. extremely agreeable to the Court of Denmark: but while every one strove to express his Joy for so glorious and important a Success, the King, who was most concern'd in it, could not forbear discovering the Trouble and Uneafiness of his Mind. jealous and apprehensive Prince was afraid, that Otho would make use of his Name, and of an Army that was wholly compos'd of Foreigners, to make himself Master of the Kingdom: And even his Fears suggested to him, that the Swedes, who were naturally possess'd with an implacable Averfion against the Danes, would endeavour to bribe that General's Fidelity, by offering to acknowledge him as Administrator. However, he difsembled his Suspicions, and sent him Letters full of Expressions of Gratitude, for the important Services he had received from him; but at the same time, to keep him in awe, he acquainted him that he was refolv'd to march to Sweden next Spring at the Head of a numerous Army, and that he would command the Siege of Stockholm in Person. Some time after, he fent several Ships laden with Salt, which was very scarce and dear in Sweden, and order'd the General to cause it to be distributed gratis among the principal Persons of every Village, that the Peasants might esteem

1519. themselves happy, in being subject to so kind a Master.

Gustavus was soon after alarm'd with the dismal News of the Ruin of his Country. He was extremely afflicted at the Administrator's Death, and concluded that the King of Denmark wou'd take Advantage of the general Consternation, to make himself Master of the whole Kingdom. His Restraint became insupportable to him, though he was still entertained by Banner with all the obliging Tenderness he cou'd expect or desire from a kind Relation. The Tranquility of his Thoughts was perpetually disturbed with the most violent Transports of Revenge, for the Death of Steno, and of a most passionate Love to his Country; and perhaps he had already began to form some ambitious Designs, which encreas'd the Agitation of his Mind. He was too well acquainted with the King of Denmark's Character, to entertain the least Hope of procuring his Liberty from that Prince before the End of the War, though to gain the Nobility, that was made an express Article of the Treaty of Upfal; and the Natural Generofity of his Temper, wou'd not fuffer him to make any Proposal to Banner, that might feem inconsistent with his Duty to his Sovereign: And therefore he resolved to make his Escape privately, concluding, that it would be no Injury to his Kiniman, if the Ranfom appointed by the King was paid.

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In Order to the Execution of that Design, he went out of the Castle one Morning, under Pretext of hunting in the Woods, according to his usual Custom. As soon as he came to a convenient Place, he disguis'd himself in a Peasant's Habit, and in that Equipage travell'd on Foot thro' By-Ways, and in two Days arriv'd at Flensburgh. Since no man was suffered to go out of that City with-

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without a Passport, Gustavus durst not appear at 1519. the Gate, or go before the Governor, for Fear of being discover'd; but as if Fortune had design'd to favour his Escape, this happen'd to be the Time of the Year, when the Merchants of Lower Saxony come to Jutland to buy Oxen, with which they drive a confiderable Trade. Gustavus offer'd his Service to one of these German Merchants, who hir'd him to drive his Oxen, by the help of which Disguise he escap'd out of the Danish Territories, and arriv'd fafe at Lubeck.

As foon as Banner heard of his Prisoner's Flight, he pursu'd him with extraordinary Haste and Diligence, and overtook him at Lubeck. In the first Transports of his Anger, he began to treat him as a Person, who by a base Action had expos'd his Friend and Benefactor to the Indignation of his Sovereign, and the Forfeiture of a confiderable Sum of Money. Gustavus knowing that these Reproaches were not altogether groundless, was fo far from being offended at them, that he endeayour'd in the mildest and most obliging Terms to pacifie his Kiniman, and to convince him of the Innocency, and even Necessity of that action which he blam'd. He begg'd him to confider coolly and impartially the Injustice of his Restraint, and the Injury that was done him against the publick Faith and the Law of Nations. He told him, that he himself was a Witness with what Patience and Submission he had born his Imprisonment, so long as he could entertain the least Hope that the King of Denmark might at last be persuaded to do him Justice; and that no reasonable Person could blame him for endeavouring to procure his Liberty, fince even the Treaty of Upfal could not oblige his implacable Enemy to release him. He added, that he would never forget the obliging Treatment he had receiv'd at his House; and that he would take

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1519. take care to fend him the Sum which the King re-

quir'd for his Ranfom.

Banner was fo-fully convinc'd by his Reasons, and fatisfy'd with his Promise, that he went home; and gave out that he could not find his Prisoner. The King fearing that his old Enemy would endeavour to form a Party against him in Sweden, fent Orders to General Otho to make a diligent Search for him. But notwithstanding all the Dangers that threatned him, he persisted in his Resolution to return to Sweden, and to incite his Countrymen to make a vigorous Effort to recover their Liberty. In Pursuance of that Design, he discover'd himself to Nicholas Gens, the first Consul of Lubeck, and endeavour'd by several Reasons to perfuade that Magistrate to favour him with his Advice and Affistance. He entreated him to consider, that 'twas the Interest of the Regency to put a seafonable Stop to the boundless Ambition of King Christiern; that the Conquest of Sweden would make that Prince Master of all the Trade of the Baltick Sea, and consequently ruin the Merchants of the Hanse Towns; and that the Inhabitants of Lubeck could never reckon themselves secure, while the three Northern Crowns were united in the Person of one Sovereign. Afterwards he put him in Mind of the Hatred which the Danes had on all Occasions express'd against that City, and of the many and important Services which the Republick had receiv'd from Sweden: He 1248. added, that he was confident the Regency had not yet forgotten, that they ow'd their Liberty to Eric Blesus, King of Sweden, who deliver'd them from the tyrannical Usurpation of Waldemar II. King of Denmark; and that their Merchants were obliged to the Trade and Protection of Sweden for all the Riches they enjoy'd. And concluded, that he hoped, that both Interest and Gratitude would

would prevail with the Republick, to affift their 1519. ancient Allies in the just Defence of their Liberty

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The Conful was very sensible of the Reasonableness of Gustavus's Desire, and promis'd to propose it at the first Meeting of the Council: But the Regency, who were all Merchants, did not think fit to declare for a Party that had no standing Forces to support them, and were not in a Condition to put themselves in a Posture of Defence. These Burghers were only concern'd for the prefent Security of their Trade, and they were fo afraid of incurring the Displeasure of the King of Denmark, who was Master of a potent Fleet, that they refused to grant Gustavus a Passage to Stockbolm, where he was defirous to make his first Appearance. But it feems the Conful faw further, or was better acquainted with the Interests of the City, than the rest of the Council; or perhaps, had private Orders to show more Favour to that illustrious Adventurer, than the Regency were willing to own: For he told him in fecret, that he would provide a Vessel that should carry him to Sweden; and at his Departure affur'd him, that if he could form a Party strong enough to take the Field, the Regency would infallibly declare for him.

Gustavus would have landed at Stockholm, but the Master of the Ship, either in Obedience to private Orders, or because he was bound to another Place, set him ashore near Calmar, which seem'd still to adhere to the Party and Interest of the Princess Christina, the Administrator's Widow; or rather was kept by the Governor, till the Danes should offer some advantageous Proposal to make amends for the Loss of his Government.

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Gustavus discovered himself to the Governor, and to the principal Officers of the Garrison, who were for the most part Germans, and had served under him in Prince Steno's Army; imagining that they wou'd have so much Regard to his Birth, and former Authority, as to intrust him with the Command of the Town. He exhorted 'em to fignalize their Courage in so noble a Cause, and to preserve that Fidelity to the Princess, which they had promis'd to her deceas'd Husband: He told 'em, that he had run thro' all Dangers, that he might have a Share in the Glory of a vigorous and honourable Defence; and affured 'em, that they might confidently expect a speedy and seasonable Relief. But those mercenary Foreigners, seeing that he had neither Troops, nor so much as Servants to attend him, looked upon him as a lost Man, and were so far from submitting to his Authority, or engaging in his Party, that when he attempted to gain some Soldiers of the Garrison, they threaten'd so positively to kill him, or to deliver him up to King Christiern, that he was forc'd to prevent the Execution of their Menaces by a speedy Flight, and was even oblig'd to have Recourse to his former Disguise, upon advice that the Danes, who were advertis'd of his Arrival, had fent out feveral Parties to apprehend him. And fearing least so vigilant an Enemy might easily discover a young Lord in the Habit of a Peasant, he hid himself in a Waggon laden with Straw, and in that Equipage pass'd thro' all the Quarters of the Danish Army, to a Castle that belong'd to his Father in the Province of Sudermania.

From thence he wrote to his Friends, to acquaint 'em with his Escape and Return, desiring 'em to repair immediately to the Place where he lay, with all their Vassals and Followers: For he hoped

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hoped that by their Affistance he might be able 1579. to force some Quarter of the Danish Army, and afterwards to march to the Relief of Stockholm. But they were so far from engaging in so hazardous a Design, that even his Relations refused to entertain any Correspondence with him. That passionate Love, or rather Fondness of Liberty, which was always reckon'd the peculiar Character of the Nation, seem'd to be quite extinct, and the haughty and untractable Swedes became the tame Slaves of their most hated Enemies. Every Man endeavour'd to avoid the least shadow of Suspicion, and contented himself with securing his private Interest, without regarding the Sasety and Honour of his Country.

Gustavus dildaining the Cowardice of his Friends, resolv'd to have Recourse to the Peasants, concluding, that 'twould be an easier Task to inflame the natural Fierceness of the Rabble, who could neither be engag'd by Fear nor Hope in the Danish Faction: He went about the neighbouring Villages in the Night, endeavouring to gain the principal Persons, and at last ventur'd to appear in publick on Festival-Days, to incite the Mobile to take up Arms against their Oppressors. But he foon perceiv'd that their wonted Fury was but too effectually cool'd by the late disaftrous War, in which most of them had seen the Death of some of their Relations: and instead of offering him their Assistance, they told him in a blunt and clownish Manner, that they wanted neither Herrings nor Salt under the Dominion of the King of Denmark, but could not avoid certain Destruction, if they should make the least Attempt against so potent a Prince.

Gustavus was equally vex'd and surpriz'd at so unexpected a Disappointment: He knew not what to do, nor whither to retire: He could not be safe

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in Sweden, but at the Head of an Army; the Danes were still in Quest of him, and he could neither continue long in one Place, nor make frequent Removes, without exposing himself to manifest, and even almost unavoidable Dangers. At last he refolv'd, tho' with the Hazard of his Life, to get into Stockholm, hoping that his Presence would inspire the Burghers and Garrison with new Resolution and Courage, and that by making a brave Defence, he might prevail with the Hanse Towns, to fend him a feafonable Relief. He left the Caftle of Refnas, without acquainting any Person with his Design, and travell'd for some Days thro' Byways, spending the Night in solitary Cottages, to avoid meeting with his vigilant Pursuers. But notwithstanding all his Caution, he was once in fo great Danger of being surpriz'd, that the Enemy came but an Hour too late: So that finding it impossible to proceed on his Journey, without falling into the Hands of the Danes, he return'd by another Road, and in so pressing an Extremity, resolv'd to take Sanctuary for some Time in a Convent of Carthusians at Griphysolm, which was founded by his Ancestors. But the Menks, preferring their present Interest to the Memory of past Favours, refused to admit him, under Pretext, that they were atraid of exposing their House and Order to the Fury and Indignation of the Danes. And therefore perceiving that 'twould be in vain to expect a safe Retreat, where there was so little Appearance of Generosity or Gratitude, he return'd to the Province of Sudermania, and retir'd to the House of a Peasant, that had been an old Servant in his Family, where he lay hid for some Time, and sent his Host with Letters to several Lords, endeavouring to reanimate their drooping Courage, and inspire them with a noble Resolution to recover their Liberty and

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and Honour. But they were so terrify'd and over- 1520. aw'd by the Presence of the Danish General, and by the Report he had industriously spread abroad, that King Christiern was ready to enter the Kingdom at the Head of a powerful Army, that they durst not discover the least Inclination to a Revolt. In the mean time, Gustavus comforted himself with the Hope of some Revolution after that Prince's Arrival, concluding, that the Severity of his Government would rouse the Aversion of the Swedes against King Christiern long'd extheir ancient Enemies. tremely to enjoy the Fruit of his Victories, and to awe his new Subjects with the Sight of their Conqueror. He enter'd Sweden in the Spring, as he had intimated in his Letter to the General, and was receiv'd by the Archbishop, and the rest of the Prelates, with all the Joy that usually appears in the Air and Behaviour of the Fortunate. The Archbishop especially thought himself oblig'd to signalize his Zeal on this Occasion, and to express a more than ordinary Satisfaction for the Success of a Revolution, by which he hoped to be the principal Gainer: For he concluded, that as foon as the King had compleated the Conquest of Sweden, he would entrust him with the fole Management of his Authority.

Christiern, at his Arrival, solemny ratify'd the Treaty of Upsal; and, as if that Ceremony had given him an uncontroverted Title to the Crown, he dispatch'd Expresses immediately to the Administrator's Widow at Stockholm, and to the Governor of Calmar, requiring them to surrender these two Places. The Governor capitulated without expecting a Siege; and Christiern, without employing any other Artillery than what he drew from his Purse, made himself Master of that important Place, which was the most considerable Port in the Kingdom, next to Stockholm. He conferr'd the Government of it upon Severin de Norbi, Governor of the Isle of Goth-

land,

felf into that Prince's Favour, by expressing, upon all Occasions, an entire Resignation to his Desires and Inclinations, at a Time when the Senators of Denmark, and the principal Lords of the Kingdom, claim'd a Right to offer their Advice to the Prince, and even to contradict his Opinion when they thought it inconsistent with the Good of the Nation.

But the Administrator's Widow express'da more heroical Resolution than that treacherous Governor: She fent Christiern Word, that she would never submit to the Destroyer of her Family, and Country, nor comply with the Refolutions of an Assembly, that was compos'd of Traytors and Rebels, and govern'd by the Enemies of the Nation. The Courage of that Princess, and the Boldness of her Answer, was a sufficient Intimation to Christiern, that the Conquest of Stockholm would cost him dearer, and require more substantial Batteries, than that of Calmar. And therefore fince he perceiv'd, that in all Probability the Garrison would make an obstinate Defence, he advanc'd with his Army to invest the Flace, and order'd Admiral Norby to block up the Port with his Fleet.

He carried on the Siege with all the Earnestness and Vigour that can be supposed to animate
an ambitious Prince, who is just upon the Point
of compleating the Conquest of a Kingdom. He
was Day and Night on Horseback; he encouraged
his Soldiers both by his own Example, and by
considerable Rewards; he went daily to the Trenches, and visited the most advanced Works; he shared
all the Danger and Fatigue of the Siege with the
meanest of his Soldiers; and, which was still a more
difficult and laborious Task, he curbed the impetuous Violence of his Humour, dissembled his secret
and implacable Aversion against the Swedish Nation,

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and even carefs'd the Nobility, to keep them from 1520. taking up Arms for the Defence of their Princess,

and the Preservation of their Country.

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In the mean time, the Administrator's Widow made a brave Resistance: The Soldiers of the Garrison, animated by her Presence, and the Inhabiants, encourag'd by the Success of their late Defence, repuls'd the Attacks of their Enemies with incredible Valour. But tho' they wanted neither Courage nor Resolution, they began to suffer extremely for want of Provisions and Ammunition; and the City was fo straitn'd by the Besiegers both by Sea and Land, that they could not hope to be reliev'd, tho' their Countrymen or Allies should have taken the Field in their Defence. The King of Denmark was inform'd of their Condition by ome Deserters, and receiv'd the welcome News with extraordinary Transports of Joy: He knew that the Conquest of Sweden depended on the Reduction of the Capital City, and was still afraid est Gustavus, whose Residence he could not distover, should raise an Insurrection in some Part ofthe Kingdom, or perfuade the Hanse-Towns to make Divertion in Denmark.

He sent a new Summons to the Administrator's Widow, to open the Gates of Stockholm; and to persuade her to a speedy Submission, he order'd his Messenger to represent to her, that her Obstinacy could not prevent the Loss of the Town; that he was Master of the whole Kingdom; that his Army was lodg'd at the Foot of the Wall, and only expected the Signal for a general Assault, that he was sorry she seem'd resolv'd to expose her self to the Disorders that are usually committed when a Place is taken by Storm; and that since the Convention of the Estates at Upsal had, by a solemn Treaty, declar'd him Sovereign of the Kingdom, her Resistance could not be esteem'd

1529. less criminal than an open Rebellon, especially fince she headed a Faction that was excommunicated by the Pope. At the same time, he offer'd to agree with her upon the following Conditions; That her Estate should be preserv'd entire; that she should still enjoy the same Dignity and Honours which she posses'd during the Life of her Husband; that the Prisoners on both Sides should be releas'd without paying any Ransom; and that the City of Stockholm should continue in

the Possession of all Privileges.

'Twas not without an extreme Reluctancy, that the Princess condescended to hear so unwelcome a Message. 'Tis certainly the most sensible Mortification that can befall a Sovereign, when he is oblig'd to divest himself of his belov'd Power, especially when his Disaster is attended with this cruel Circumstance, that he must resign his Authority to his Enemy: However, the Administrator's Widow was so sensible of the hopeless Posture of her Affairs, that she was at last perfuaded by her Council to treat with the King of Denmark. The Articles of the Capitulation were drawn by the Confuls and Magistrates of Stockholm, who took care to make them as advantageous to the Princess, as they durst propose in the present Juncture. Nor did the King make the least Scruple to grant all the Terms which they defir'd, well knowing that as foon as he should Septemb. be Master of the City, 'twould be in his Power to give what Sense he pleas'd to the Articles of the Treaty. Thus he fign'd the Capitulation, and was receiv'd into Stockholm, at the Head of 4000 Men, whom he left to keep Garrison in the

> Place. He call'd a Meeting of the Estates, to be held on the Fourth of November; and appointed the fame Day for the Solemnity of his Coronation.

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Afterwards he sent Detachments from his Army 1520. to the principal Places of the Kingdom, to keep the Provinces in Awe. He sent back the General, whom he suspected, by reason of the Glory of his Victories, and his Interest among the Soldiers; and having entrusted Norbi with the Command of the Army, and the Archbishop of Upsal with the Management of the State, he march'd with all possible Dilignce to Denmark, at the Head of his French and German Auxiliaries, having receiv'd repeated Advices, that his Presence was absolutely necessary in that Kingdom, to crush a

brooding Revolt.

He stood in need of all his Power, and of the Fame of his Conquests and Arms, to keep his Subjects from breaking out into open Rebellion. The People, encourag'd by his Absence, and by the Necessity of his present Circumstances, which oblig'd him to remove his Forces, obstinately refus'd to pay the new Taxes which he had laid upon them: They were generally diffatisfy'd, and complain'd against the Government; they blam'd him openly for invading Sweden, and gave out, that his Army was beaten, tho' that Report was only grounded on their Wishes that it might prove true. The Senate, and principal Lords of the Kingdom were so far from oppoling and suppressing so visible a Tendency to a Revolt, that they fomented the Discontent of the People: They hated Christiern for excluding them from their wonted Share in the Government; aud were incens'd even to Madnels, because he feem'd only to assume an Arbitrary Power, that he might lodge it entirely in the Hands of an old Dutch Woman, call'd Sigebrite, who had neither Birth nor Beauty to engage his Affection; and yet, merely by her Wit and Cunning, had made him one of the most desperate Lovers in the H 2

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uncontroul'd Empire; her Pleasure was the supreme Law, on which the Fate of the Court, and of the whole Kingdom depended. 'Twas as impossible to undermine, as 'twas dangerous to oppose her Interest: She gave, and took away all Places, Offices, and Dignities, as she pleased, without regarding the Laws of the Country; and not unfrequently undertook the Management and Promoting of unjust Designs, on purpose to show the Arbitrariness of her Power. Yet notwithstanding her Age, and other Desects, the deluded King approved all that she did, and seem'd ambitious to be reckon'd the principal Minister of her

Pleasure.

The quick Return of that Monarch from his victorious Expedition, furpriz'd his murmuring Subjects, and broke all their Defigns: They endeavour'd with all possible Care to conceal their Discontent, and to express a seeming Joy for their Prince's Success. He was receiv'd at his Arrival with all those Marks of Affection and Respect, which are the perpetual Companions of the Fortunate: His Ministers, according to the usual Maxims of Courtiers, who are always ready to flatter, and comply with the Humour and Inclinations of their Sovereign, told him in a Cabinet-Council, that in Pursuance of the indifpensable Rules of Policy, he ought to secure the principal Lords of Sweden; that he could not hope to preferve his Conquest, without abolishing the Senate of that Kingdom, which they represented as a Body of factious Persons, who, upon all Occasions, assum'd a Liberty to controll and oppose the Royal Authority; that there was not one Member of that Affembly, who would not joyfully embrace the first Opportunity of a Revolt, to make himself Master of the Sovereign Power,

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Power, under the Title of Administrator, which, 1720. for several Years, had been the Reward of the Authors and Fomenters of a successful Rebellion: that he ought to rid himself of the Senators, who were formidable to the Crown, by reason of the Vastness of their Estates, and the Authority they had over the People; and that he ought only to leave fuch Persons in the Kingdom, whole Ambition was curb'd by the Meannels of their Condition, and who could not pretend to any higher Employment than tilling the Ground, and paying Tribute to their Sovereign.

In the mean time, Sigebrite made it her Business to confirm the Opinion and Advice of these flattering Courtiers, by representing to the King, that his Victory would be imperfect, and the Consequences of it doubtful and uncertain, while there were any Lords of the Kingdom able or willing to dispute the Lawfulness of his Title; that the Senators and the principal Noblemen were implacable Enemies to his Authority; that he ought to secure his Conquests, and compleat his Victory by the Death of those who were in a Condition to oppose him; that to prevent all future Disturbances, he ought not to spare even those who were most zealous and active in promoting his Interest; that the seeming Friendthip of the Bishops was only an Effect of the ancient Emulation and Animofity betwixt them and the Nobility; and that those ambitious Prelates. would prove the most dangerous Rebels, if he should give them the least Oceasion to suspect that he intended to curb their Authority, or exclude them from a Share in the Government.

The inhuman Politicks of this She-Favourite were extremely agreeable to the fierce and cruel Humour of a Prince, who look'd upon the Liberty

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1520. of his Subjects, as inconsistent with his Honour and Safety. He imagin'd that his Authority was effentially annex'd to the Dignity of his Character, without any Dependance upon the Law of the Kingdom, and that his Will was the only Rule and Standard of his Government. were the Principles and Maxims by which he regulated his Actions; fo that he was eafily perfuaded to facrifice the Senate, and most considerable Noblemen of Sweden, to the Extravagancy of his Ambition, and to secure his Conquests by the Death of fo many illustrious Victims: But he wanted a specious Pretext to justify, or at least to excuse so barbarous an Attempt; for he durst not, without a plaufible Shew of Reason, proceed to the Execution of fo many Persons of Quality, who had voluntarily submitted to him, and relied upon the Faith of a solemn Treaty.

> Sigebrite advised him to commit the Execution of that inhuman Sentence to the Officers of the Garrison of Stockholm, who, under the Pretext of a Quarrel betwixt the Soldiers and Inhabitants of the City, might encourage the former to execute their Revenge, by an vniverfal Massacre of all the Persons of Note in the Town. But notwithstanding the natural Impetuosity of his Temper, he was loth to venture upon an Attempt that was clogg'd with fo many Difficulties, and might probably be attended with dangerous and fatal Consequences: He consider'd, that the Burghers of that City were numerous, and inur'd to War by the late Siege which they had fustain'd; that the Garrison might be overpower'd, and cut to Pieces in the Heat of the Tumult; and that the Success of their Resistance might serve as a Signal for a Revolt through the whole King-

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For these Reasons, he chose rather to make use 1520. of the Pretext of Excommunication, and of the pretended Injustice that was done to the Archbishop, that the People might be deluded by a certain Appearance of Uniformity and Coherency in all his Proceedings, and that he might feem to be acted only by a stedfast Zeal for executing the Pope's Bull against the Enemies of that Prelate. He spent some Time in Denmark, in contriving the most probable Measures, and giving necessary Orders to prevent the Commotions that might happen in his Absence; and before his Departure, disbanded the French Troops that were in his Service. This was probably an Effect of his Complaifance to his Brother-in-Law, Charles of Austria, who, At Franknot long before, had obtained the Imperial Dig-fort, June nity; for the Soldiers were not only dismis'd with 20, 1519. all the Marks of Contempt and Difrespect, but treated rather as Prisoners of War, than as Allies and Auxiliary Forces, to whose Valour he ow'd the best Part of his Conquests. They could neither obtain the Payment of their Arrears, nor a Supply of necessary Provisions; nor would he furnish them with Ships to transport them to their own Country; fo that they were forc'd to wander about the Country like a Company of straggling Vagabonds. Many of them were starv'd to Death, others were massacred by the Danes; some were constrain'd to list themselves in the Danish Service, and their Officers were oblig'd to encounter with a thousand Difficulties in bringing home the rest.

As foon as the King had order'd his Affairs in Denmark, he prepar'd for his Departure to Sweden, that he might be present at the Convention of the Estates which he call'd, in order to the performing of the Ceremony of his Coronation. Sigebrite advised him to carry two Danish Sena-

tors

premeditated Attempt might in some measure be authoris'd by their Presence, and that the Blame of so inhuman an Action might be laid on these Ministers.

'Twas by her Advice, that he made Choice of Theodore Archbishop of Lunden, and Primate of Denmark, and the Bishop of Odensee, one of his Suffragans; the same to whom he had formerly procur'd the Bull of Excommunication to be directed; which Pope Leo the Tenth publish'd against the Administrator. They were entirely devoted to the Court, and were only respected as the Ministers of the King's irregular Passions: He plac'd a great deal of Confidence in the Archbishop of Lunden, who was a Person of mean Birth, and could neither be reckon'd a Scholar nor a State man; but to make amends for these Defects, he was a most ingenious Contriver of new and refin'd Pleasures, and admirably well acquainted with all the Secrets and Improvements of that mysterious Art. He ow'd his Advancement, and the Favour of his Master, to Sigebrite, who first brought him to Court, to serve her in the Quality of a Spy, and afterwards rais'd him from the mean Office of the King's Barber, to the Dignity of Archbishop of Lunden. And as he had the good Fortune to be supported by so powerful a Benefactress, he quickly became the Favourite and Confident of his Master, by furnishing him with a constant Supply of fresh and diversity'd Pleafures

The King set Sail for Sweden, accompany'd with the Queen his Wife, and attended by all the Court. But Sigebrite declin'd the Voyage, either because the was unwilling to expose her self to the satyrical Mirth of the Swedish Lords, who were oftentimes wont to make the King's extravagant Passion

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Paffion to his old Mistress, the Subject of their 1520. Wit and Diversion; or because that Prince thought fit to leave her at Copenhagen, to observe the Mo-

tions of the Senate.

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At his Arrival in Sweden, he receiv'd an Ambaffador from the Emperor, who came to invest him with the Order of the Golden Fleece, and to congratulate his Victories, and the happy Success of all his Defigns. The Concern which the Emperor express'd for promoting the Interest of his Brother-in-Law, was too warm and zealous to be reckon'd merely an Effect of their Affinity, which feldom or never produces fo strong an Affection among Sovereigns. 'Tis thought, that aspiring Prince bestow'd his Sister upon the King of Denmark, on Condition that he should declare him to be his Successor in the three Kingdoms of the North, in case he should die without Issue. Those who are acquainted with the Character of Charles V. will never suppose him guilty of neglecting to take the most promising Measures to secure so important a Branch of the Universal Monarchy. This was his beloved Project, the Object of all his Hope and Defires, and the airy Mistress whom he courted, or rather ador'd with fo eager and lasting a Passion. And the same Fondness for that imaginary Scheme seems to have been entail'd upon his Family and Successors, till the Terror and Rapidity of the Swedish Conquests, and the fortunate Valour of their Royal Leader, rous'd the Gustavus Emperor Ferdinand II. out of his golden Dream; Adolphus and instead of a vain Ambition to extend his Em. 1631. pire over all Europe, oblig'd him to content himself with defending the Hereditary Dominions of the House of Austria.

Christiern put off the Ceremony of receiving the Order of the Golden Fleece till the Day of his Coronation, that the Solemnity might be more splendid and

mag-

1720. magnificent: And in the mean time, he took fe-

cret Measures with the Archbishop of Upsal, to execute their Revenge upon their common Ene-The Refult of their Consultations was, that the Archbishop should appear in the Convention, and present an Address to the King, demanding Justice against those who depriv'd him of his Dignity and Estate. Matters being thus concerted, the King open'd the Meeting of the Estates, where he was tolemnly acknowledg'd as the lawful Sovereign of Sweden. The next Day the Archbishop Novem- perform'd the Ceremony of his Coronation; and ber 4. the King swore upon the Gospels, and the Reliques of the Saints, that he would inviolably preserve and maintain the Laws, Privileges, and Customs of the Nation. The Senate, Clergy, Nobility, and the Deputies of the Provinces, took the usual Oath of Fidelity to him; and the Emperor's Ambassador appearing in the midst of the Assembly, presented him with the Order of the Golden Fleece, and in his Master's Name wish'd him

a prosperous and successful Reign. Afterwards, the new King invited all the Lords to a magnificent Feast, which he had order'd to be prepar'd in the Castle, as a publick Mark of his Joy upon the Occasion of his Accession to the The Senate, in a Body, and all the principal Noblemen, who were then at Stockholm, attended his Majesty in Obedience to his Desire: The two first Days were spent in Entertainments, and all manner of folemn and diverting Recreations: The King receiv'd his Guests with all the Marks of an obliging Kindness and Familiarity, and the mutual Aversion, which had been so long fomented betwixt the two opposite Factions, seem'd to be entirely forgotten and extinguish'd. Swedes endeavour'd to lose the Memory of their ancient Fears and Jealousies, and flatter'd themselves,

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hemlves, felves with the Prospect of a lasting and undisturb'd 1520. Happiness; but on the third Day they were awaken'd out of their excessive Security in a most terrible and surprising Manner.

The Archbishop of Upsal, accompained with his Relations and Creatures, appear'd before the King in a full Meeting of the Estates, and publickly demanded Justice against the deceas'd Administrator; and all the Senators and Lords of the Kingdom, who forced him to refign his Dignity, and demolish'd the Fort of Steque, which belong'd to the Patrimony of the Church. The King declin'd meddling with an Affair, of which he pretended that the Pope's Commissioners were the only proper Judges, and defir'd the Archbishop to propose his Grievances to the two Danish Prelates, to whom the Bull publish'd by Leo X. was directed, protesting, that he would only make use of his Authority to execute their Sentence according to the Bull, and the Intentions of the Holy Father.

Immediately the two Danish Prelates, who were the secret Ministers of the Passions of that Monarch, requir'd and demanded, that the Administrator's Widow should be brought before them, to give an Account of her Husband's Actions; tho' it was both inconfistent with Reason, and the usual Methods of proceeding in fuch Cases, that a Woman should be made accountable for the Behaviour of her Husband in the Management of Affairs of State, concerning which Persons of that Sex are very rarely confulted: However, the King, without considering the Justice of their Demand, oblig'd the Princess to come to the Assembly. She appear'd before him with a modest Assurance, and at first refused to plead before the Pope's Commissioners: She put the King in Mind of the Treaties of Upfal and Stockholm, by which he folemnly oblig'd

1520. oblig'd himself to bury all that was pass'd in Ob. livion, conjuring him to let her Husband rest quietly in his Grave, and to pity the Fate of a Princess who had nothing left but her Fears and Sorrow. But that inexorable Prince, with a feem. ing Calmness, referr'd the hearing of her Defence to the Pope's Commissioners, under Pretext that the Archbishop's Complaint had no Relation to the Differences that were formerly betwixt him and the

Administrator.

The Princess perceiving that the King was inflexible, and that she must resolve to defend the Actions of the Prince her Husband, answer'd at last, with a great deal of Courage, that the Administrator besieg'd the Archbishop, and demolish'd his Castle, by virtue of express Order from the Estates and Senate of the Kingdom; that the Archbishop was arraign'd and convicted of Treafon against his Country, according to the usual Forms of proceeding in fuch Cases that were prescrib'd by the Laws of the Nation; and that his Sentence was still extant in the publick Regifters, fign'd by all the Senators, both Secular and Ecclefiastical.

Tho' the King was acquainted with all the Circumstances of that Affair, he sent for the Registers, and order'd the Archbishop's Sentence to be read publickly before the Assembly, with the Names of all those who subscrib'd it: after which he went out, as if he had only withdrawn, that the Commissioners might not be under the least Appearance of a Constraint. But immediately after, the whole Affembly was alarm'd with the Sight of a Troop of his Guards, who came by his Order to arrest the Administrator's Widow, the Senators, Bishops, and all the Swedish Lords and Gentlemen that were in the Caftle.

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The Danish Bishops, by virtue of the Pope's 1520. Commission, began to proceed against them as Hereticks, as if the Inquisition had been establish'd in that Country. But the King of Denmark being unwilling to lofe Time in examining and convicting those whom he had already doom'd to Destruction, and fearing lest their Friends should make an Attempt to relieve them, refolved to dispense with the Formality of a Trial, and sent Executioners to acquaint the Prisoners with their

approaching Fate.

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The Eighth of November was the Day appoin-Novem ted for the fatal Solemnity. In the Morning a Proclamation was publish'd by the Heralds. with Sound of Trumpet, prohibiting all Persons, in the King's Name, to go out of the City, upon Pain of Death. The whole Garrison was in Arms, and there were Corps de Guard at all the Gates, and in all the publick Places of the City. The great Guns were mounted in the Market-Place, with their Mouths turn'd towards the principal Streets; the People were seiz'd with Terror, and expected, with a melancholick Impatience, the Event of these unusual Preparations. At last, about Noon, the Gates of the Castle were open'd, and disclos'd the mournful Scene: A Troop of illustrious Victims, who, for the most Part, were still adorn'd with the Badges of their Dignity, march'd out in a dismal Pomp, and were led by their Executioners to the Slaughter.

As foon as they came to the Place of Execution, a Danish Officer read the Pope's Bull aloud, as if it had been the Sentence of their Condemnation; adding, that they were executed by the Orders of the Apostolical Commissioners, and the Advice of the Archbishop of Upfal. Bishops, and the rest of the Lords, begg'd earnestly that some Confessors might be suffer'd to assist

them

1720. them at their Death: But the inhuman King refused to grant them the last Comfort they were capable of enjoying, either to glut his inplacable Rage with the barbarous Delight of expofing his Enemies to Punishments in another World. or because he was unwilling to treat them as Ca. tholicks after they had been condemn'd as Hereticks. Nor was the Cruelty of his Policy less remarkable in the Resolution he took to facrifice his Friends, that People might not suspect that his pretended Zeal was merely the Effect of Revenge. The Bishops of Stregnez and Scara were known to be devoted to his Interest; but all the faithful and important Services they had done him, could not procure fo much as a Mitigation of their Sentence: Their being Members of the Senate was their Crime, and their figning the Archbishop's Condemnation was the Pretext of their Punishment:

Tohn Brach. p. 203. Olaus Magnus, an Eyewitness. an Eyecre of Stockholm.

Yet the Bishop of Lincoping escap'd the fatal Blow; for as the Executioner was just going to Loce. 1. 5. cut off his Head, he told the Danish Officer who was appointed by the King to fee the Execution perform'd, that he might find an undeniable Proof of his Innocence under the Signet of his Coat of Arms, which he had affix'd to the Arch-Ziglerus, bishop's Sentence, and begg'd him to send some Person to examine the Truth of his Assertion. The witness of King being inform'd of his Request, lifted up the Wax with his own Hand, and found a little Note, which that cunning Prelate had flipp'd under it, as if he had foreseen the tragical Consequences of that Affair: He protested in the Note, that he was forc'd to fign the Archbishop's Sentence, to avoid the Indignation of his Enemies, who threaten'd to treat him after the same manner. This politick Contrivance fav'd his Life, for the King order'd him to be fet at Liberty, to show

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The Lay-Se ther. and Ni Castle, instead many 1 fome I in the gin'd, was fo and fo though that, t folv'd and to As foc they fo nesses murde Way. House and th were : their] their tish L those ness; the So Exam

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that he only design'd to punish the Archbishop's 1520. Enemies, and those of the Administrator's Party, who, he pretended, were involv'd in the Sentence of Excommunication which the Pope pronounc'd

against that Prince.

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Then they proceeded to the Execution of the Lay-Senators, beginning with Eric, Gustavus's Fa- Eric ther. The Consuls and Magistrates of Stockholm, Eric Joand Ninety four Lords, who were arrested in the hanson, Castle, underwent the same Fate. Yet the King, Eric Cainstead of being satisfy'd with the Death of so nut, Eric many illustrious Persons, was extremely vex'd, that Rinning, some Lords, whom he had particularly inserted Eschille, in the Black Roll, had escap'd his Fury: He ima-Nicolai, gin'd, that they lay conceal'd in the Town, and Joschim was fo afraid left they should make their Escape, Brahe, Magnus, and fo desirous to discover Gustavus, who, he Green, thought, might be hid in some House in the City, Eric Cuthat, to give a full Scope to his Vengcance, he re- sius, Olafolv'd to confound the Innocent with the Guilty, us Beron, and to expose the Town to the Fury of his Soldiers. Gunnar Gallus. As foon as they had receiv'd those bloody Orders, Bennedict they fell upon the People that were come to be Wit-Erici, nesses of that dismal Spectacle, and promiscuously JohnGudmurder'd all that had the Misfortune to be in their mund, Way. Afterwards they broke into the principal Andrew Oleis and Houses, under Pretext of learching for Gustavus, Andrew and the rest of the proscrib'd Lords: The Citizens Erici, Conwere stabb'd in the Arms of their Howling Wives, Juls of their Houses were plunder'd, and the Honour of Stocktheir Wives and Daughters was expos'd to the brutish Lust of the Soldiers. None were spar'd, but those who were protected either by Poverty or Ugliness; all the rest were made a Prey to the Rage of the Soldiers, who, by the Orders, and after the Example of their inhuman Sovereign, strove to outdo each other in the wildest and most extravagant Barbarity.

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A certain Gentleman of the Swedish Nation was fo fenfibly touch'd with the moving Sight of fo many deplorable Objects, that he could not restrain the Impetuofity of his Grief, nor behold such a Scene of Horror, without bewailing the Misery of his Country. The furious King was fo enrag'd at those Marks of Compassion, which his guilty Conscience interpreted as secret Reproaches of his Cruelty, that he commanded the unfortunate Mourner to be fasten'd to a Gibbet: His Privy Members were cut off, his Belly ripp'd up, and his Heart pluck'd out, as if Pity and Compassion had been the foulest and most enormous Crimes. terwards, the King pretending that the Adminifirator, by incurring the Sentence of Excommunication, had render'd himself unworthy of Christian Burial, order'd his Body to be taken up and expos'd in the Publick Place among the mangled Carcasses of his antient Friends. He issued out an Order, that no Person should presume to bury any of these Bodies, upon Pain of Death; and would have fuffer'd them to lie in the open Place, as a terrible Monument of his Vengeance, if the Stench and Putrefaction had not obliged him to command them to be taken away: But before they were remov'd, he could not forbear going on purpose to take a View of the dismal Trophies of his Fury. At last he order'd them to be carry'd out of the City and Burnt, that even Death it self might not exempt them from a second Punishment, which he pretended to inflict upon them as Excommunicated Persons.

Afterwards he ordain'd, that the Administrator's Widow should be drown'd; but the Execution of that cruel Sentence was prevented by Admiral Norbi, who, under a seeming Complaisance and Resignation to all the Humours and Inclinations of his Master, conceal'd a secret Pro-

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ject of high and ambitious Designs. He was per- 1720. fuaded that so tyrannical a Government could not be long maintain'd; he saw himself Master of a potent Fleet, Governor of the Isle of Gothland that lies opposite to the Coast of Sweden, and of the City of Calmar, which was the second Port in the Kingdom. He plac'd fo much Confidence in his Power, and in his Interest at Court, that he did not think himself obliged to set any Limits to his aspiring Desires: He sancy'd that he might one Day raise himself above the Quality of a Subject, and lay aside the Title of a Favourite to assume that of a Prince. He flatter'd his Ambition with the fecret Hope of marrying the Administrator's Widow, concluding that her Interest and Authority would facilitate his Accession to the Crown of Sweden, or at least to the Dignity of Administrator. And therefore to fave that Princes's Life, he told the King his Mafter, that she would deliver up all her Husband's Treasures for her Ransom. The King, who was as Covetous as Cruel, consented to recall her Doom upon that Condition, and imagining that the was extremely oblig'd to his Mercy for changing her Punishment to a perpetual Impriforment: He fent her to Denmark, with Gustavus's Mother and Sifter, and the rest of the Swedish Ladies, whose Husbands perish'd in the Massacre of Stockholm. They were thrown into different Priions, where they were very ill treated, without any Regard to their Birth, Sex, or Beauty; and kept them as Hostages for the Fidelity of the Children and Relations that they left in Sweden.

Authority by this Massacre of all the principal Nobility, he thought himself too powerful, and too formidable to the rest of the Swedes, to be a-

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ought to content himself with one Hand, and a

vernment at his Pleasure, and order'd Matters as in a conquer'd Country; he oppress'd the People with new Taxes; he threaten'd the Peasants to cause one of their Feet and Hands to be cut off; adding, in a kind of Raillery that a Peasant who was born for the Plow, and not for the War,

wooden Leg.

He nominated Theodorus Archbishop of Lunden, Viceroy in his Absence, and appointed the Archbishop of Upsal, and the Bishop of Oldensee, for his Ministers and Counsellors, advancing these two Danish Prelates, by his absolute Power, to the rich Bishopricks of Stregnez and Scara, without any Regard to the Rights of these two Churches, which had a Privilege to chuse their own Bishops. And he had also Interest enough at Rome, to induce the Pope to allow of the Intrusion of these two Danish Prelates, whose Hands were in a manner imbru'd in the Blood of their Brethren. Christiern, at his Departure, gave Orders to spare neither Pains nor Cost to discover Gustavus's Retreat; he set a Price upon his Head, and promised considerable Sums of Money to those that should bring him Prisoner, dead or alive; after which, he return'd to Denmark, laden with the Curses of the Swedes, by whom he was stiled the Northern Nero.

His Troops, in his Absence, continu'd the Barbarities they had exercis'd in the Capital City, many Lords were surpris'd and massacred in their Castles by his Order, without laying any other Crime to their Charge, than that they were eminent for Birth and Courage; neither was the ordinary Pretext of Excommunication any longer made use of; it was Crime enough to be accus'd of being too rich, or of having Interest in the

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Province. The Viceroy, swallow'd up in Plea- 1520. fure, spent his Time in heaping up Money, by the Confiscation of the Goods and Estates of those that were daily outlaw'd: The chief Officers of his Army ravag'd the Provinces, every one's Troop being independent and separate, without any Order or Discipline; and among so many different Interests, and so little Subjection, they thought of nothing else but pillaging and oppressing the People.

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The Nobility, terrify'd with so many Massacres, and not well united among themselves, destitute of a Head, Money and Forces, were oblig'd, to avoid the Danish Cruelty, to submit to the Archbishop: So that every one strove to court this Prelate, and every one would be thought to have done it always. It feem'd as if all the Swedish Gentry had perish'd in the Massacre of Stockholm, for no Body would acknowledge that they had serv'd in the Administrator's Army; the greater Part of the Nobility were glad to be employ'd in the Viceroy's Troops, as a secure Asylum: And the Calamities of Sweden were so great, that even their Happiness was envy'd that were allow'd to be Soldiers, tho' to fight against their own Country.

Admiral Norbi feigning to commiserate this deplorable State of Sweden, receiv'd many Gentlemen on Board his Ships, and into his Government; and affected to treat them with all manner of Civility with relation to his fecret Designs: Those that were not under his Protection, being uncertain of their Fate, and always between Hope and Despair, were expos'd to the Insolence and Avarice of the Danes; and it was dangerous for those who were not of the Archbishop's Party, to be posses'd of an Estate: And whosoever had

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been his Enemies, were forc'd either to escape by Flight, or resolve to die: For this haughty Prelate pardon'd none, but destroy'd all his Adverfaries, under Pretence of facrificing them to the publick Safety; but above all, he endeavour'd to make himself Master of Gustavus's Person, whom he hated as a Kinsman and Favourite of the deceas'd Administrator; besides he knew very well, that he could not better make his Court to Chrithan by imprisoning or destroying that fliern, Lord.

Gustavus during his Retreat look'd about him on all Sides, to fee if he could discover any Thing that might favour his Designs; he had privately fent to Stockholm, that old Servant at whose House he lay concealed, to inform him of the Occurrences of the State. And at his return it was that he heard of the Death of his Father and all the Senators, and the general Massacre that had happen'd in that miserable City; this so lamentable a Piece of News did extremely afflict him; the Death of so many Lords having taken off all his Family and Friends, and almost depriv'd him of all Means and Hopes of faving himself. knew not what Measures to take, nor whither to retire, for he was encompass'd with Danish Troops, and knew very well, that besides the great Promifes, to any that should discover him, all those were threaten'd with Death that had conceal'd or should not immediately deliver him up. So that he durst not stir from the Place he was in, nor trust any of the Swedes, lest the great Rewards should make 'em betray him. He resolv'd in this Exigence privately to retreat to the Mountains of Dalecarlia, hoping he might eafily lie hid in the Woods with which that Country is cover'd, and imagin'd that it would not be difficult to caule

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the Inhabitants to revolt, being the last of the 1720. Kingdom that submitted to the Danish Dominion. There was not one good Town in the whole Province, and hardly any but small Villages situated on the Edges of the Forests, or on the Banks of Lakes and Rivers; some of these Villages depended on the Gentlemen of the Country, but most belong'd to the Crown, and were govern'd by the Peasants themselves; the Elders in every Village supply'd the Place of Judges and Captains, tho' these were neither more powerful nor richer than their Neighbours; the Honour of Commander confilting only in the Privilege of fighting at the Head of the Troops; for the chief Power was in the Hands of the Multitude, who affembled on Holidays, and took upon them to determine all manner of Affairs.

The Government durst not send either Troops or Garrisons into this Province, nor did the Kings themselves ever enter it, till they had given Pledges to the Inhabitants for maintaining their Privileges; they manag'd with Ciution this Savage People, who inhabited in inaccessible Mountains, left they should discover that it was in their Power no longer to obey, and were contented with the Tribute of a few Skins only from these Peasants; and for the rest, they were suffer'd to live according to their own particular Customs, which were very different from those of the other Provinces.

Gustavus, in the Disguise of a Peasant, set forward on his Way to these Mountains, accompanied only with a Country Fellow, who serv'd for his Guide: He cross'd over the whole Country of Sudermaina, then pass'd between Nericia and Westmannia; and after the Fatigues of a long and dangerous Journey, arriv'd fafe in that Part of

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1520. the Mountains of Dalecarlia, which the Natives

call'd Daalfield.

He had no sooner enter'd into the Country, but he was abandon'd by his Guide, who robb'd him of all the Money that he had provided for his Subsistence: He wander'd up and down in those dreadful Mountains, and amidst those Savages, destitute of Company, Friends and Money; not daring to own his Name, or discover himself, he was forc'd, for a Living, and to be conceal'd, to hire himself for a Labourer, and to work in the Copper-Mines, from whence the People of these Parts have their chiefest Subsistence; he was always at work with the other Miners to get his Livelehood, and lay bury'd as it were in those subterranean Work-houses.

Gustavus hoped that the Misery of his Condition might serve at least to conceal him, and that they would never think of fearthing for the General of the Swedish Horse in so forry a Habitation; notwithstanding which he was discover'd and known in this Disguise: For a Woman in whose House he lodg'd, accidentally perceiv'd under his Labourer's Habit, a filk Robe embroider'd with Gold; which News was soon carried to the whole Village, and came to the Ears of the Lord of the Place, who either out of Curiofity of feeing a Stranger, whose genteel Mien was much talk'd oi, or rather that his Disguise made him believe him to be one of the profcrib'd, came to the Mines, with Intent to offer him his House, and to contribute to his Safety; but was extremely surpriz'd when he found it to be Gustavus, whom it was not very difficult for him to discover, because he having spent his Youth with him in the University of Upsal: And though he was much concern'd to see this young Lord in so miserable a Con-

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Condition, yet he feign'd not to know him, left 1520. it might discover him to others; but as soon as he return'd to his House, he sent for him by a private Messenger; and having, in a most obliging manner, told him that he knew him, gave him all possible Assurances of his Service and Friendship, and entreated him to accept of his House, where he might lye hid more securely than in the Mines; and, in his Transport of Compassion and Kindness, promis'd him to cause his Friends and Vaffals to take up Arms in his Defence, if the Danes should attempt to offer Violence to him in his House. Gustavus accepted these Offers with a great Deal of Joy, and at first liv'd with him as if he had no other Defign than to avoid the Pursuit of his Enemies; but at the lame time, employ'd himself in getting Information of the Strength of the Province; and in finding out the Inclinations of the Inhabitants of the new Government.

His Landlord told him, the Dalecarlians suffer'd the Danish Tyranny with great Impatience; that they publickly murmur'd at certain Taxes that Christiern had impos'd on them; that, which tho' fmall in Reality, appear'd excessive and intolerable, because they were new; and that the People detested the King of Denmark's Cruelty: He added, that he doubted not but the Peasants would revolt of themselves, if the Danes continu'd to infringe their Privileges. Afterwards he boafted of the Strength of Dalecarlia, with an Exaggeration that is usual in those that would make their Country be valu'd: He told him, that that Province alone was able to raise Twenty thousand Men; that all the Peasants were born Soldiers, and by the Help of their Mountains could stop and defeat all Christiern's Forces. This Discourse being seve-

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1520. ral times repeated, induc'd Gustavus to resolve to attempt to make the Province revolt, which he discover'd to his Landlord, and conjur'd him to affift in it : He represented to him, that the Kingdom was involv'd in the greatest Calamities, that neither the Faith of Treaties, nor the Submission and Obedience of the People, could bound or fatisfy the bloody Inclinations of Christiern; that especially it seem'd, that this barbarous King had fworn the Death of all the Swedish Nobility; that the Maffacre of Stockholm was but a Prelude to the Cruelty and Outrages which his Troops exercis'd in the Provinces; that the News was daily brought of the barbarous Murther of some Gentleman or other; that it was more generous, and a furer Way, to prevent and furprize the Danes, than cowardly to wait till they invaded the Province, and massacred the People in their own Houses.

But this Gentleman, terrify'd with the Danger of the Enterprize, upon Apprehension of the formidable Power of the Danes, declin'd being concern'd in it: Where are (said he to Gustavus) the Forces necessary for carrying on so great a Design, and what Army have you to oppose the Enemies Troops, which seem hitherto to have had some Regard to our Privileges, but will outragiously over-run the whole Province, upon the sirst Motion we shall make?

It seem'd as if Fear made this Gentleman forget what he had just before told him of the Strength of his Province, and the Inclinations of its Inhabitants: for he sought new Reasons to overthrow the former, and to oblige Gustavus to take other Measures: He enlarg'd, with much Heat, upon the politick Considerations; not so much indeed out of Affection to his Person, as to justify that it was not for want of Courage and

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and Zeal Leal for his Country, that he declin'd engaging in 1520. his Designs. But perceiving that Gustavus constantly persever'd in his Resolution to take up Arms, and publickly to declare against the Danes, he advised him to defer, at least for some time, the Execution of his Enterprize: He told him, that perhaps he might meet with a lucky Opportunity, when the whole Province might of it felf be dispos'd to revolt; that the Peasants had little Regard to the Interest of the Gentry, whom they always look'd upon as severe Masters; that tho' they feem'd to pity the Fate of the Lords and Senators who perish'd in the Massacre of Stockholm, they had never hitherto discover'd any Inclination to revenge their Death upon their Murtherers; but that the least Attempt of the Danes to violate the Privileges of the People, would infallibly occasion a general Revolt; and that he was persuaded the Danish Army would march to Dalecarlia, as foon as they had compleated the Ruin of the rest of the Kingdom; that then the Pealants would be obliged to take up Arms in their own Defence; that he was refolv'd to let others begin the Revolt, and would neither envy the Glory nor Danger of so rash an Undertaking. He conjur'd him to wait patiently at his House till the People should appear in Arms; infinuating, that where ever the Revolt should begin, the leading Men of the Party would always be ready to yield him that Submission which they ow'd to his Birth and Merit: and concluded with advising him not to ruin so generous a Design, by a preposterous Haste in the Execution of it; left, instead of becoming the Avenger and Deliverer of his Country, he should only furnish the Danes with a new Pretext to compleat the Destruction of the Nation.

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Gustavus was too judicious and resolute to be either deceiv'd or convinc'd by his Landlord's Arguments; but tho' he was sensible that his pretended Caution and Policy was rather the Effect of his Fear, than Frudence, he could not be offended at the Weakness of a Man, whom he look'd upon as an Object of Compassion: He was so far from fuspecting that he was a secret Well-wisher to the Danish Interest, or that he was capable of betraying his Guest, that he did him the Justice to believe the Sincerity of his Affection to his Country; but at the same time he perceiv'd, that the Difficulty of the Attempt deterr'd him from engaging in it. And therefore instead of reproaching him with Cowardice and Pufillanimity, he contented himself with conjuring him to keep the Secret with which he had entrusted him; and resolv'd upon a speedy Departure, to free his timorous Landlord of the Trouble and Uneafiness which he might fuffer upon his account. He set out alone, and in the Night, to avoid Suspicion; and after several Days Journey thro' the Woods, arriv'd at the Seat of another Gentleman, call'd Peterson, whom he knew in the Army, and who, he hoped, would receive and embrace his Proposals with more Courage and Resolution.

> Peterson receiv'd him with all the Marks of an obliging Civility, and entertain'd him with that Respect and Submission which is usually so agreeable to great Persons when they are under a Cloud: He seem'd to be more sensibly afflicted with his Misfortunes than Gustavus himself: He exclaim'd against the Tyranny of the Danes, and chearfully embrac'd the first Proposal which Gustavus made to him, some Days after his Arrival, to form a Party, and engage all his Vaffals and Followers in

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last found a Man who was not asraid to draw his Sword in the Desence of his Country; and endeavour'd, by all the most winning Expressions of Kindness, and by the sure Prospect of a suitable Recompence, to confirm him in so generous a Resolution. Peterson answer'd him with repeated Assurances of an inviolable Fidelity: He nam'd the Gentlemen, and the chief Persons among the Peasants, whom he hoped to engage in the Attempt: and some Days after he went privately from his House, in order, as he pretended, to put the Design in Execution.

But under the specious Pretence of a zealous Affection to Gustavus, the treacherous Dalecarlian was contriving his Ruin. The Hope of making his Court to the new King, and the Expectation of a large Reward, made him resolve to sacrifice his Honour to Ambition, and to violate the most facred Laws of Hospitality, by betraying his illustrious Guest. In pursuance of that base Refolution, he went strait to one of King Chrifiern's Officers, and inform'd him that Gustavus lay conceal'd at his House. The Danish Officer march'd thither immediately at the Head of a Party of Soldiers: he invested the House, and took Possession of the principal Gate, which Peterson deliver'd up to him. He concluded, that he had done his Matter a very important and acceptable Piece of Service, by securing his most terrible Enemy. But he had the Mortification to find, that he had taken a great deal of Pains to no Purpose: For Gustavus had made his Escape the Night before, and even ow'd his Preservation to the Wife of the Traytor that delign'd to betray him: She was prompted by Pity, and perhaps by a more tender Passion, to discoGustavus away in the Night, but order'd a Servant, in whom she plac'd a more than ordinary Considence, to carry him to the House of a Curate, who was one of her Friends. Thus by the Kindness and Discretion of that generous Lady, and by the Secrecy of her faithful Servant, Gustavus escap'd the Snare that was laid for him, and avoided the Pursuit of his Enemies, who could neither discover the Occasion of his Flight, not the Place whither he retir'd,

The Curate receiv'd him with all the Civility and Respect which he ow'd to his Birth, and to the Recommendation of the Person that entrusted him with so important a Secret. He was a sincere Lover of his Country, and did not think himself oblig'd to follow the Maxims of the Clergy, since he had no Design to raise his Fortune, by aspiring to higher Preferment. He assured Gustavus of an inviolable Secrecy, and less the Place of his Abode should be discovered by the Insidelity, or Indiscretion of the Servant that brought him thither, he carry'd him to his Church, and hid him in a Place that was wholly at his Disposal, and of which he alone kept the Keys.

He visited him every Day, and by Degrees began to seel a secret and resistless Inclination to love and esteem him; which was the usual Estect of the Presence and Conversation of that young Lord. Nor did the generous Curate content himself with expressing his Affection to Gustavas's Person; he approv'd his Resolution, and encourag'd him to undertake the great Attempt, assuring him that he wou'd employ all his Interest in the Village, and engage all his Acquaintance in other Places, to carry on the Design with the utmost Vigour and Diligence. But at the same Time

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he acknowledged that he cou'd neither advise him 1520. to desire the Assistance, nor rely on the Fidelity of the Dalecarlian Gentlemen.

He inform'd him that the Nobility and Gentry of that Province, contented themselves with a secure Enjoyment of their Estates, and the independent Authority they affum'd in their inaccessible Mountains; that they neither thought themselves concern'd in the Motions and Revolutions of the Court, nor regarded the publick Interest of the Nation; that they were seldom willing, and fometimes unable, to make their Vasfals take up Arms; and that they wou'd hardly be perfuaded to engage in a War, fince it either depriv'd 'em of their principal Riches, which confifted in the Number of their Followers, or made the Peasants less tracticable after their Return, and more apt to revolt against their Masters. therefore, he concluded, that 'twould be his best and fafest Method, to apply himself immediately to the Peafants, affuring him that he might expect a more vigorous and effectual Affiftance from them, if they should take up Arms, and declare for him of their own Accord, than if the Villages were only engaged by the Authority of their respective Lords.

After they had consulted together about the most proper Expedients, to put their Design in Execution, they agreed that 'twould be highly conducive to the Success of the intended Enterprize, to pre-possess the Minds of the Peasants, and prepare 'em for an Insurrection, by giving out that the Danes were just ready to enter into the Province, to levy new Taxes and Impositions. The Curate undertook to spread the Report, and assured Gustavus that he would shortly make it the Publick News of the Country, by the joint

Affishance of the rest of the Curates in that Diftrict, who, for the most Part, were either his Relations or Correspondents. Afterwards he advised him to go to Mora, a populous Diocess or Parish, about Twelve Swedish Leagues in Compass; where every Year, during the Christmas-Holidays, there was an extraordinary Concourse of Peasants from all the neighbouring Villages: He told him, that he could neither expect nor defire a more favourable Opportunity to propose his Design to the Peasants, who were never bolder, nor more easily persuaded to revolt than in such publick Assemblies, where they have a full View of their Numbers and Strength. And in the mean time, he promis'd to secure and engage the principal and leading Persons, that he might not be in any Danger, tho' the Crowd should reject his Proposals.

> In Pursuance of the Curate's Advice, Gustavus went to Mora on the Day appointed, where he found the Peasants already acquainted with his Delign to make them a Visit, and expecting with Impatience to see a Man, of whose Merit and Valour they had receiv'd fo advantageous a Character; one that was equally illustrious both for his Birth and Courage, and had acquir'd more Glory by Christiern's Hatred, than by the Favour of Steno: He laid afide his usual Habit, and took care that his Dress should be suitable to his Quality, to engage the Attention of the People, who are apt to be dazzl'd with the external Marks of Grandeur. Afterwards, he appeared in the Assembly with a certain noble Fierceness in his Air, which was somewhat allay'd and foften'd by a Mixture of Tendernels and Grief for the Death of his Father, and all the rest

> of the Senate. And that majestick Sorrow, which

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nance and Actions, inspir'd them at the same time with submissive Respect, and a tender and affecti-

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After he had entertain'd them with a general, but lively Description of the deplorable, and almost hopeless Condition of their native Country; he represented to them with a pathetick and moving Eloquence, that the Senators and principal Lords of the Kingdom were barbarously massacred by Christiern's Orders; that by the same Prince's Command, the Magistrates of Stockholm were put to Death, and the greatest Part of the Citizens murder'd in their Houses; that afterwards he dispers'd his Army into the several Provinces, that they might the fooner compleat the Destruction of the Kingdom; that he was resolv'd to secure his Authority by the Death of all those, whether noble or ignoble, who were either able or willing to undertake the Defence of their Country; that he was particularly incens'd against the Dalecarlians, whose Valour and Courage had made him tremble so often during the Reign of the late Administrator; that consequently they had all the Reason in the World to expect the most inhuman Treatment from a treacherous and cruel Prince, that would never forgive them to long as he dreaded their Bravery: that under Pretext of putting his Army into Winter-Quarters, he was actually fending his Troops to difarm them; that they would quickly be expos'd to the Fury of enrag'd Soldiers; that their Lives and Liberty would be at the Disposal of their infolent and merciles Enemies; and that the only Way to prevent their impending Ruin, was to resolve upon a vigorous and seasonable Resistance; that the Dalecarlians had always

1520, look'd upon Liberty as a dearer and more valuable Bleffing than Life; that the Eyes of the whole Nation were fix'd upon them in fo critical a Juncture; that the World expected to fee a convincing Proof, that they inherited the Bravery of their heroical Ancestors, and the noble Refolution with which those illustrious Patriots had always opposed the pretended Authority of tyrannical Usurpers; that he was ready to facrifice his Life and Fortune in the Defence of their Liberty; that his Friends, and all true Swedes, would join in fo glorious an Attempt; that befides, he had received positive Assurances of a considerable Reinforcement of the ancient Allies of Sweden; but supposing that their Forces were not equal in Number to those of the Danes, Revenge and Self-preservation would inspire them with a generous Fury, which would eafily supply that Defect; and that for his Part, he would rather chuse to die with his Sword in his Hand, than to preserve his Life by a base Submission to a perfidious and cruel Enemy.

The Dalecarlians answer'd this Discourse with Shouts and Exclamations, threatning to execute their just Revenge upon Christiern, and the Danish Nation: One would have thought that this had been the first Time they heard of the Massacre of Stockholm; the Discourse and Presence of Gustavus had made so deep an Impression of Grief and Resentment upon their Minds, they swore to revenge the Death of their Countrymen, and immediately resolv'd to discoun Christiern's Authority, and to destroy all the Danes they should meet, without Mercy. Not but that some of these Peasants were at first inclin'd to oppose this Revolt, under the Pretext of communicating their Designs to the other Villages; either because

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they were gain'd by the Danes, or upon a poli- 1520. tick Account, were afraid of exasperating a potent and victorious Prince. But the enrag'd Multitude rejected this cowardly Motion with Indignation; fo that the most violent, and those that declar'd for the War, were hearken'd to with a general Applause. Thus they unanimously took up Arms, and entreated Gustavus to command them, being charm'd with his graceful Mien, and admiring the Largenels of his Stature, and the strong Constitution of his Body.

But nothing confirm'd them more in the Refolution they had taken to follow that young Lord with a full Assurance, than an Observation made by the antient Inhabitants of the Village. that the North Wind continu'd to blow incessantly while he made his Speech to them. This Accident. among those superstitious People, was look'd upon as an infallible Sign of prosperous Success; and therefore without any further Deliberation, imagining that the Matter could be no longer deferr'd, without opposing the Orders of Heaven, which had so manifestly declar'd in favour of Gustavus, they immediately form'd a Body of four hundred Men, and out of that Number chose fixteen of the handsomest and best shap'd Men that were descended of the principal Families, whom they presented to Gustavus, to attend upon his Peron, as Life-Guards, and to serve as a Mark or Badge of the Authority, which they had so lately conferr'd upon him.

Gustavus resolving to take Advantage of their Heat and Eagerness, led them directly against the Governor of the Province; for 'twas his Interest to prevent that Officer, and to make him ncapable of opposing the Revolt of the other Villages: In Pursuance of that Resolution, he di-

vided

1520. vided his Troop into several Bands, the better to conceal his March and Defign; and under Co. vert of the Night and the Woods, arriv'd at the Foot of the Castle with the Dalecarlians, who march'd thither secretly by different Roads. Darkness of the Night, and the Surprize of so unexpected an Attack, favour'd his Attempt; fo that the Castle was taken by Scalade: Some Danish Soldiers, that compos'd the Governor's Guard, and the most Part of his Domestick Servants, who stood in his Defence, were immediately facrified to the Rage of the Dalecarlians; and Gustavus had much ado to rescue the Governor, who, by Imprisonment, suffer'd for his Imprudence, in prefuming to maintain a Post in a conquer'd Country, and amidst so fierce a Nation, without a Garrifon fufficient for the Security of his Person and Dignity. Gustavus permitted his Soldiers to plurder the Governor's Apartment, and several Danish Merchants were treated almost after the same manner, who, fince Christiern's new Government, came to trade in that Province; fo that their richell Stuffs became a Prev to the Dalecarlian Peasant, who dress'd themselves with them after their od Fashion: They also kill'd the Officers that were employ'd in levying the new Taxes which Chriftiern had impos'd. Gustavus seem'd to take no No tice of their Proceedings, and perhaps was not of fended at these Disorders, which serv'd only to make the Breach between the Dalecarlians and Danes wider, and their mutual Hatred more into concileable.

Tho' this Enterprize was not very confiderable in it self, it tended to confirm the Peasants in their good Opinion of Gustavus, and they gare him Commendation to much the more willingly because they took him for a Witness of the Cou-

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rage and Bravery they shew'd on this Occasion. 1520. The Report and Success of this Expedition, within a few Days caus'd almost the whole Province to declare in his Favour; for the Peasants came flocking from their Villages to join his Forces; fome by reason of their eager and impatient Desire to be avenged on the Danes, while others were excited by the Hope of getting Booty, or by their natural Inclination to undertake bold and desperate Enterprizes.

Many Swedish Gentlemen, and among others, Olai, Lawrence Erici, Fredage, and Jonas of Nederby, who were outlaw'd by Christiern, and had fled for Refuge to that Province, repair'd to his Army as it were to a common Sanctuary: He appointed them in the Quality of Officers, to command these tumultuary Forces, who usually sought with greater Impetuolity than Order. Afterward he travers'd, with extraordinary Diligence, Helfingland, Medelpadia, Angermania, Gestricia, and Bothnia; caused all these small Provinces to revolt, which are for the most part destitute of confiderable Towns, and fecur'd them by the good Order he took in fortifying the Passages of the Mountains, which are the principal Forts of those Countries.

His Army was daily increas'd in his March by the Concourse of the Peasants, who came over to him in Crowds, and oftentimes in spite of their respective Lords: He abolish'd the Taxes which Christiern had laid upon the People, and establish'd Commissaries to receive the ordinary Contributions, which he appropriated for the Subliftence of his Forces. Afterwards he dispatch'd private Emissaries through the whole Kingdom, to dispote the Nobility and Peasants to appear in Arms as foon as he should enter into their Provinces. He

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Part of the Swedish Officers that serv'd in Norby's Fleet, or in the Viceroy's Army: He left no Means unessay'd that might serve to augment his Forces, and diminish those of his Enemy; and did not make Preparations to enter into the Heart of the Kingdom, till he thought himself almost as sure of the Fidelity of all the Swedes that remain'd in the Army of that Prelate, as of the Zeal of the Dalecarlians.

The Vice-Roy made it his principal and almost only Care to heap up Money, which he fpent in gratifying his Voluptuousness: he aspir'd only to this Dignity, in hopes of finding means to pillage those People whom his Master design'd to weaken and ruin; and he would never have undertaken the Administration of the Government, if he had foreseen that he shou'd have had to do with other Enemies than difarmed People, that were not able to defend themselves: The Revolt of the Dalecarlians was a very furprizing and mortifying piece of News to him; the Danish Forces that were left in the Kingdom were very much weaken'd for want of Discipline, and by Desertion; he suspected the Fidelity of the Swedes who had declar'd for him, or were employ'd in his Army; nor did he place much Confidence in the Affiltance of the Auxiliary and Foreign Troops, who for the most part in Civil Wars are always ready to change their Masters, when they meet with more advan-The Valour of Gustavus was tageous Proposals. formidable to him, he dreaded the Courage and Refentment of that Young Lord; but he was yet more afraid of Christiern's Indignation, as being a Prince whole Displeasure was extremely terrible, and who usually punish'd the Unfortunate, with as much Severity as the Guilty. He

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He dispatch'd a Courier to that Prince, to give 1520. him an Account of the Revolt of the Northern Provinces, and at the same Time recall'd those Troops that were dispers'd in different Parts of the Kingdom. The Danes obey'd their Orders, tho' not without a fecret Reluctancy to leave those Places, where they enrich'd themselves at the People's Cost, and committed all manner of Disorders with Impunity. But the greater Part of the Auxiliary Forces refus'd to take the Field, under Pretext of the Want of their Pay. They made themselves Masters of the Towns and Castles, where they were in Garrison, and thut themselves up in those Places, not so much to defend and keep 'em for the King of Denmark, as on Purpose to retain 'em as Pledges for the Payment of their Arrears, and to obtain more advantageous Terms from the Victorious Party.

It was with no small Trouble and Vexation that Christiern heard of the Transactions in Sweden; he did not find himself in a Condition to go into that Kingdom, and cou'd not spare the Forces he had in Denmark. The whole Realm was full of disaffected Persons; for that Prince, who was grown more cruel fince the Massacre at Stockholm, observ'd no Measures with his Subjects; he indifferently exercis'd his Authority on the Lives and Estates of the Danes, without any respect to the Dignity of the Persons, or to the Laws and Privileges of the Country; he had caus'd several Gentlemen to be put to Death without any Formality, and on very weak Surmises; and he had no less offended the Bishops and the whole Body of the Clergy, by the Praises he publickly bestow'd on Luther, who under Colour of blaming the Abuses that were committed in Germany, in the Publication of Indulgences, openly condemn'd the

1520. Wealth which the Bishops enjoy'd, and the tem-

poral Power they affum'd.

The Court of Rome usually employ'd the Augustine Friars to publish Indulgences in Saxony, by which they reap'd no small Profit, and which procur'd them a great Authority in that Country. The Jacobins, under the Pontificate of Leo X. got this Commission from them: These Monks, to shew their Zeal in this new Employment, and perhaps to inhance the Income of their Mission, cry'd up in their Sermons the Virtues and Efficacy of Indulgences, in which they used certain Expressions that were not at all agreeable either to the Design of the Church, or to the Intent of the Bull that authoriz'd them: Besides, these Collectors led a Life not over regular; 'tis faid, they kept their Offices in Taverns, and often spent there in Featting what was the Product of the People's Zeal, and what good Men's Devotion made them spare even from their necessary Occafions.

Martin Luther, of the Order of St. Austin, Do-Etor and Professor in the University of Wirtemberg, pretended to be mov'd with these Disorders, but in reality, desirous to revenge his Brethren, began in his Sermons to fly out into tharp Invectives against the bad Use these Collectors made of their Authority: He was a great Scholar, and an eloquent Orator, halty, daring, and headstrong; conceited with his own Learning and Sentiments, and over fond of that Glory which is acquir'd by broaching new Opinions; undaunted, and so obstinate, as never to retract what he had once affirm'd. He contented himself at first with Preaching against the unedifying Manner of bestowing these extraordinary Favours; but exasperated by the Affronts and Threats of the Jacobins, he looked ba

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gences. He proposed new Doctrines on the Subject of Justification, of Remission of Sins, of Penance and Purgatory, and at last spoke against the Pope's Authority, from whence his Adverlaries derived the Proofs by which they would establish Indul-

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He taught in his Writings, and preached in his Sermons, that we are justified by Faith alone; that Penance confifted only in a fincere Contrition; and that Confession was but an unprofitable Repetition of our Faults; that to obtain Remission of Sins, 'twas fufficient to believe with a lively Faith, that they were forgiven; that Indulgences were neither recommended nor ordained to us for our Practices, and that they were equally useless in this World, and in the next; that Purgatory was but a modern Invention, contrived by the Monks to cheat People out of their Money; that the Mals was no Sacrifice; that it was of no Benefit to the Dead; and that, and all other Prayers of the Church were to be read in the vulgar Tongue, and above all, that the holy Sacrament was to be administred to the Faithful in both Kinds.

The Pope alarm'd by this new Doctrine, which seemed to expose the Nature and Extent of his Power to the Censure and Examination of every particular Person, thought to stifle so dangerous a Doctrine, by condemning Luther as a Heretick, and even order'd Jerom Alexander, his Nuntio, to sollicit the Elector of Saxony to deliver up the seditious Monk, that he might punish him as an Enemy to Religion.

Luther, to secure himself against the Practices of that Court, and to engage the Duke of Saxony,

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1520. and all Secular Magistrates to protect him, pub. lish'd some new Writings, as much in Opposition to the Pope's Power, as they were favourable to Sovereign Frinces; he wrote against the Celibacy of the Priests and the Monastical Vows; he taught that the only Vows that were obligatory, were those of Baptism; he inveighed against Hicrarchy, which he pretended was a Tyrannical Government, he exclaim'd against the Corruption of the Court of Rome, and against the excessive Riches of the Church; he advised, in his Books and Sermons, all the Sovereign Princes to take Possession of the Funds and Revenues of the Bishopricks, Abbies and Monasteries, unless when there was a Sovereignty annex'd to the Bishopricks, and in that Case, he would have the Bishops marry, and not suffer such Persons, as under the specious Pretence of Celibacy, engag'd their Allegiance to a foreign Power to remain in his Territories; he wou'd have the Monasteries converted into publick Schools and Hospitals, and the great Treafures those Houses enjoy'd, to be employ'd partly in maintaining the Preachers, Overfeers, and other Officers, who should take Care of the Poor, and partly by the Prince in supplying the Exigences of the State, and the Necessities of his People.

These last Opinions gain'd Luther more Followers, than the first Propositions he had advanc'd, on the obscure and crabbed Doctrine of Justification, and of the Merit of Good Works. Many German Princes, under Colour of this Doctrine, depriv'd the Church of several Lands and Estates which they thought lay convenient for 'em: And the King of Denmark, after their Example, usurp'd part of the Demeans of the Archbishop of Lunden, as if he had already declar'd openly for the New

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The Danish Clergy, to be reveng'd for the Af- 1720. front they met with under his Reign, and perhaps to dispose People to a Rebellion, gave out a Prophecy of St. Bridget, to this Effect, that a King of Denmark shou'd be expell'd out of his Kingdom, because of his Barbarity. Every one took Pleasure in applying this to Christiern; but he having heard of it, publickly made a Jest of it; telling his Courtiers, That that Bigot wrote every Morning the Dreams the had had over Night, which the very pioufly took for Revelations; and affecting to make that Saint the Subject of his Mirth, either out of a Spirit of Libertinism, or, which is more probable, to discredit, by a feeming Contempt and Derision, a Prediction, which, whether true or false, might make a dangerous Impression in People's Minds.

However, fince by Reason of the general Discontent of all his Subjects, he cou'd neither leave Copenbagen, nor dismiss his Army, without exposing himself to a Rebellion; he wrote to the Viceroy of Sweden, commanding him to march with his Army, in order to bring the Rebels to reasonable Terms; and at the same Time he sent Word to Gustavus, that he would make his Mother and his Sisters to suffer the most cruel Torments, if he understood that he appear'd again at the Head of

Gustavus, despising his Threats, continu'd still to advance with his Dalecarlians, putting all the Danes he met with to the Sword, and even the Swedes, who adher'd to them or to the Archbishop; and his Forces increas'd daily, during his March; so that in a short Time, he saw himself at the Head of an Army of above Fisteen Thousand Men, all animated with his Courage and Resentment, and resolv'd either to conquer or die. He march'd towards Westmania, while the

Army, advanc'd to the River Brunebec, with a Defign to oppose his Passage, and fight him, if he

should attempt to pass the River,

No sooner was he come to the Banks of the River, but he saw Gustavus appear on the other Side, at the Head of his Horse, and ready to force his Passage: He was so daunted at the Sight of so resolute an Enemy, that he retir'd with much Precipitation, and basely left a Post where he might have fought with Advantage, either because he was diffident of his own Capacity, in giving the necessary Orders, and commanding during the Heat and Tumult of the Action, or because he durst not trust the Swedes, who were very numerous in his Army. He retir'd at first into the Caitle of Westeras, which was not far off; but not thinking himself safe while he was so near Gustavus, and fearing a Siege, if he should continue, he left the best Part of his Troops to defend that Place; and returning to Stockholm, thut himself up in the Castle of that City, where he began to indulge his Luxury, without fuffering any Busness to be brought before him, as tho' by his Retreat, and keeping out all bad News, he could keep out the Enemy, or put a Stop to their Progreis.

Gustavus took all the Advantage which the Viceroy's Retreat afforded him; he laid a Bridge over the River, his Forces pass'd it without any Opposition, and continu'd their March towards Westeras, the Capital City of Westmannia. It was equally dangerous for him to leave behind him a Place of that Importance, or to spend too much Time in besteging it: Most of his Troops were compos'd of Countrymen, that were very unsit for this Way of Fighting; he had neither Pow-

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der nor Cannon; the Place was defended by a numerous Garrison, little differing from an Army, and the Length and Difficulty of a Siege might have discouraged the Dalecarlians, and ruin'd his

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To rid himself of this Trouble, he resolv'd to attempt that by a bold Action and a Stratagem, which he foresaw was impracticable according to the ordinary Rules of the Art of War: He detach'd all his Cavalry, under the Command of Lawrence Erici, his Lieutenant, with Orders to advance behind the Woods, as near as he could to the City Gates. He left Olai, another of his Lieutenants, with the best Part of his Foot, behind a Mountain, near the Village Ballunga; and having commanded him to follow him slowly, he advanc'd with a Body of Three thousand Men, as if his whole Army had consisted only in that Number.

That Evening he appear'd in Sight of the Place, and immediately retrench'd himself near the Chappel of St. Olaus, with all the Care and Diligence of a Man that is afraid of being attacked, and endeavours to avoid an Engagement; which the Danes perceiving, and withal feeing the small Number of his Men, send all their Horse to attack him. Gustavus, after a small Resistance, maintain'd a running Fight, to get into the Defiles, and infenfibly to draw the Enemy among the Body of his Foot, which was advancing to his Affistance: The Danes, deceiv'd by this Retreat, which they mistook for the Flight of a routed Enemy, ran disorderly out of Westeras, to have a Share in the Victory, thinking to find them in Confusion and Disorder; so that none remained in the City, but the Swedish Forces of their Party, and the Danes that were in Garrison in the 1520. the Castle, whom the Governor would not suffer

to go out.

Gustavus having drawn them far enough from the City, to give Erici an Opportunity to execute his Orders, made Head against the Enemy: He took his Post at the Head of all his Foot, which was now got together; and turning about to his Dalecarlians, with his drawn Sword in his Hand. and a dreadful Look, which seem'd to threaten no less than a full Vengeance for his Father's Death; Remember, my Friends, cry'd he, the Cruelty and Avarice of our Tyrants; and consider, that we must either conquer, or prevent an Ignominious

Slavery by an Honourable Death.

The Dalecarlians having answer'd their General's Discourse with repeated Shouts and Acclamations, immediately let fly a Shower of Arrows upon the Danes, and afterwards broke, with Sword in Hand, into the midst of their Battalions. Ground was quickly cover'd with dead Bodies; and both Parties engag'd with all the Fury and Obstinacy that usually appear between two neighbouring and hostile Nations, when one fights to enlarge their Dominions, and the other to recover their Gustavus seem'd to be every where; and at the same Time that he charg'd his Enemies, as the meanest private Centinel in the Army, gave out Orders with that admirable Presence of Mind, which is fo rare and yet so necessary on such Oc-The Fight was obstinately maintain'd for some Time by the undaunted Valour of both Parties; but fince People that revolt and take up Arms for the Recovery of their Liberty, feem always to be inspir'd with a more than ordinary Fury, the Swedes made such powerful Efforts, that the Danes were forc'd to give Ground, and to endeayour to regain the Walls of Westeras.

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However, they retreated in good Order; and 1520. when they were charg'd by the Horse under the Command of Erici, who had intercepted their Paffage, the Fight was renew'd, and by Reason of the unavoidable Necessity of Overcoming or Dying, was more furious than before. The Danes being attack'd on all Sides, and animated with Rage and Despair, fought like Persons who took less Care to defend themselves, than to assault their Purluers, every Man endeavouring to revenge his Death by that of an Enemy. The greatest Part of 'em were cut to Pieces; few were taken Prisoners, and the pitiless and bloody Dalecarlians put all to the Sword, without giving Quarter; nor were their Officers able to moderate their impetuous Fury.

The Horse under the Command of Erici, purfued the routed Enemy so vigorously, that they enter'd with them into Westeras, by means of the Swedes that belong'd to the Garrison, and were in the Danish Service, but declar'd for Gustavus as foon as they could with Safety. These Troops had no sooner enter'd the City, but they disbanded in the Night, and run to plunder the Town with so much Eagerness, that their Officers were not able to stop 'em, nor even to find a sufficient Number of Soldiers to mount the Guard, and to take fuch Precautions as were necessary to secure their Conquest. They broke into the Houses ofseveral Merchants that fold Brandy, Wine, and strong Waters. And the Dalecarlians, under the Command of Gustavus, being inform'd that their Companions were so well employ'd, left their Colours, and, in Spite of their Officers, run to the Town, to get their Share of a Liquor, which affords an enchanting Delight to these Northern People.

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The Governor of the Castle perceiving this Disorder, made a Sally at the Head of his Gar. rison, to charge the Swedes, his Soldiers having first set Fire to several Houses, on purpose to encrease the Tumult and Confusion: Afterward they enter'd the City with Sword in Hand, and without any Opposition kill'd a great Number of the Dalecarlians, whom they found for the most part Drunk, and destitute of Arms and Defence. As foon as Gustavus was inform'd of so terrible and unexpected a Disaster, he enter'd the Town, and was enrag'd to fee his Soldiers massacred almost in his Presence, without finding any that were able to oppose the Enemies: He commanded Olai to raise a Barricado in the High Street, and to make Head against the Danes, with all the Officers and Voluntiers that were with him, whilt he himself ran through the City, to put a Stop to the Pillage, and to rally his dispers'd Troops The greater Part of his Soldiers sculking in the Bottom of the Cellars, and intoxicated with Wine and Brandy, fled almost with equal Fear and Precipitation from the Presence of their General, and from their Enemies. But Gustavus, accompanied with his Guards, went down himself into the Cellars, stav'd the Vessels, spilt the strong Waters and Brandy; and by this Precaution, which the Dalecarlians look'd upon as unjust and cruel, drew them out of these enchanted Places; at lat he beat back the Danes into the Castle, tho' rather by his own Presence, than by the Assistance of his Soldiers.

April 29.

Afterwards he caused the Governor's Pulse to be felt, to know whether he might be prevailed with to deliver up the Castle upon Composition; but having found him resolute and unmoveable, he contented himself with blocking up the Forts he wa perhap begin : Danes vallatio the Be Hope Groun Office the To

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he was not willing to hazard an Attack, which 1520. perhaps might discourage his Soldiers; nor to begin a formal Siege, for fear of giving time to the Danes to rally. He only order'd Lines of Contravallation to be drawn round the Place, to hinder the Besseg'd from sallying out, and to cut off all Hope of Relief: He first took a Spade to break the Ground, and was immediately imitated by all the Officers of his Army; after which the Burghers of the Town, mingled with his Soldiers, carried on the Work with so much Diligence and Vigour, that in less than two Days they rais'd the Intrenchments in some Places above 24 Foot high.

Gustavus had no sooner given the necessary Orders to prevent the conveying of Succours into the Place; but he march'd again into the Field; several Lords and Gentlemen, at the Head of their Vassals, met him on the Road, and join'd his Forces; and 70 Swedish Officers at once deferted the Viceroy, and came over to Gustavus's Army. These Advantages were look'd upon as the Beginning of a great Revolution, and the taking of Westeras seem'd to be the Signal agreed upon for the Revolt of the whole Kingdom of Arwide, a considerable Lord in Westgothland, Lawrentius Petri, of Sudermania, and Olaus Bonde, of Nericia, came to assure him that the Nobility and People of their Provinces, waited only for his Presence to take up Arms, and to declare in his Favour; and even those who were either with-held or over-aw'd by the Power and Neighbourhood of the Danes, secretly affisted him with Intelligence and Money; the Eyes of all the People were fix'd upon him, and his own Merit, with the Rigour of the Danish Tyranny, procur'd him the good Wishes and Love of the whole Swedish Nation.

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1520.

Gustavus seeing himself at the Head of an Army, and of so potent a Party, resolv'd to undertake several Enterprizes at the same Time, that the Fame of his Conquests might draw all the People to his Army, and that the Danes might be at a Loss where to employ their Troops. He fent back those Lords who came to meet him, to their respective Provinces, with Detachments from his Army, which he gave them to begin the War, and to promote the Revolt and Infurrection of the People. Arwide, by his Order, befieg'd the Castle of Wadestene in Ostrogothland; Lawrentius Petri, the Town of Nicoping; and Olaus Bond, Orebro, the Capital of Nericia, whilst Olai and Erici at the same time invested the City of Upsal. This Place was large and very populous, but almost destitute of Walls and other Fortifications, except some old Towers on the Side of the Arch-bishoprick. The Arch-bishop, who was Lord of it, had put a Garrison into it, under the Command of a Governor, tho' rather with a Design to shew the Inhabitants that he did not torsake them, than in Hopes of defending it if it should be attack'd. The Soldiers of the Garrison had no fooner perceiv'd the Dalecarltans with Sword in Hand, descending into the Ditch, and ready to mount to the Assault, but they abandon'd the Ramparts, after once firing, and left a free Passage to the Dalecarlians, who enter'd the Town without Opposition; and being reform'd by what happen'd to them at the taking of Weste. ras, they pursu'd the Danes, without staying to plunder the Houses: The greater Part of the Garrison was cut to Pieces, and the Governor, in endeavouring to escape by Flight, receiv'd a Shot with an Arrow, of which he died a few Days after.

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Gustavus having receiv'd Information that his 1,720. Forces were in Upfal, repair'd thither with Speed. He took Care to preserve the Arch-bishop's Palace May 11 and Goods, either to render him suspected to the Danish Ministers, or to gain and draw him to his Party. Afterward he fent an Envoy to the Conful of Lubeck, to notify to him the happy Success of his Arms, and at the same Time to put him in Mind of the Supplies which he had promis'd him in Behalf of the Regency. His Agent represented to that Magistrate, how much 'twas the Interest of that Republick, and of all the other Hans-Towns, that Sweden should be always separated from, and at Enmity with Denmark; that the Regency of Lubeck cou'd never meet with a more favourable Opportunity to fettle the Affairs of that Kingdom; that Gustavus had already made himself Master of several large Provinces, and that he had compleated all thefe Conquests at the Head of the Dalecarlians, but that these Peasants serving for the most part without Pay, were also free from any Tie or Engagement, and that they were not ignorant that those who began a Revolt, and undertake a War with the greatest eagerness, are usually soonest tir'd; that his Master stood in need of a Fleet to besiege Stockholm, and the other Maritime Towns of the Kingdom, as also of some regular Troops to carry on the War; and that this Lord hop'd, with the Supplies, within a little while to expel the Danes out of the whole Kingdom of Sweden.

The Consul of Lubeck gave an Account of his Demands to the Regency; but these Republicans found that their Interest was chang'd with the Fortune of Gustavus. The rapid Progress of his Conquests, his undaunted Courage and aspiring

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the contrary, ceas'd to be any longer formidable to them, by reason of his violent Proceedings with

respect to his own Subjects.

But the' Gustavus's Agent made little Progress in his Negotiation, he had the good Fortune to meet with an old German Colonel, nam'd Stephen de Sass, who was one of those Soldiers of Fortune that make a Trade of War, and are always ready to venture their Lives for Gain, without taking any Care to enquire into the Justice of the Cause which they engage to defend. Gustavus's Envoy treated with him in the Name of his Master, and in Consideration of a certain Sum agreed upon, a confiderable Part of which was paid in Hand, the Colonel obliged himself to land in Sweden, before the End of the Month of August, at the Head of 1200 Men. Gustavus's Agent instantly gave him an Account of this Treaty, and received Orders to continue at Lubeck, to follicit that Regency to declare in his Favour; but he thought fit to acquaint him at the same time, that he was sensible there would not have been so much Difficulty in prevailing with these Republicans, if he had not made so quick a Progress, and if the Success of his Enterprize were more uncertain.

Gustavus had not hitherto met with any Disaster, every thing having succeeded beyond his Expectation: He was at the Head of a considerable Army, with which he had made himself Master of half the Kingdom, and the rest of Sweden waited only for his Presence to declare in his Favour, when in the full Career of his Conquest, he saw himself suddenly abandon'd by

July 10. Conquest, he saw himself suddenly abandon'd by the greater Part of his Forces; for the Peasans begg'd Leave of him to be dismiss'd, that they might might
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might go and take Care of the Harvest in their 1520. Provinces. Gustavus, notwithstanding the urgent Necessity of his Affairs, could not refuse those People who serv'd him voluntarily, and to whom he was also oblig'd for all his Authority; and therefore he consented to their Departure, upon the Promise they made him to return with a Reinforcement after the Harvest, reserving only for his Guard, and for the Desence of the City of Upsal, one Company of Horse, and six hundred Foot, for the most part Dalecarlians, who were resolv'd to follow his Fortune, and never to leave him.

He resided at Upsal, which was as it were the Center of his Conquests, from whence he gave out necessary Orders thro' all the Provinces, that had declar'd for him, and where his Lieutenants carried on the War in his Name: He endeavour'd at the same time to divide and distract his Enemies by secret Negotiations, till he should be in a Condition to reduce them by Force.

The Archbishop was more especially formidable to him, by reason of the great Number of his Vaffals and Followers; for he alone was capable of supporting Christiern's Party, by the Reputation of his Family, and his Authority over the Clergy: He sent Letters through the Provinces, obliging his Relations and Friends to endeavour to retain the People in their Obedience to the King of Denmark; fo that Gustavus met with, in the fingle Person of that Prelate, a vigilant Enemy, that created him more Trouble than all the Danes together. However, he made an Attempt to draw him off from their Party, and engag'd two Canons of Upfal, who imagin'd they had a great Interest with the Archbishop. Gustavus publickly granted'em a Pass, under Colour that they at the same Time privately charg'd 'em with a Letter, which was submissive, sull of Respect, and proper to flatter the haughty and arrogant Temper of that Prelate. In this Letter he conjur'd him no longer to oppose the Liberty of his Country; and offer'd, with all possible Demonstrations of Sincerity, to restore his City of Upsal, and his whole Estate, without exacting any other Conditions than to engage in his Party, and to be their Head; assuring him withal, that every one would be ready to obey his Orders with Delight, and that for his own Part, he should only reserve to himself the Glory of putting his Advice and Counsels in Execution.

The two Canons being arriv'd at Stockholm, deliver'd Gustavus's Letter to the Arch-bishop, and even took the Boldness to commend his Moderation, on purpose to feel the Pulse of that Prelate. But the Arch-bishop rejected the Letter and their Service, with a great deal of Scorn and Indignation; and fearing lest the Danes should suspect that he hearken'd to their Proposals, he caus'd the Letter to be immediately carried to the Vice-Roy: He also sent to him, at the same Time, the Persons of the two Canons, who were the Bearers of it, and demanded that they should be put to Death as Traytors and Spies.

The Vice-Roy, who knew not how to destroy his Enemics but when he found 'em unarm'd, wou'd have made no great Difficulty to give him this Satisfaction, if he had not been asraid of offending the Clergy, who almost alone continu'd to adhere to the Party of the Danes: He also perceiv'd that the Arch-bishop requir'd their Death with so much Earnestness, only to take off a Suspicion, which might arise, that he held

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Correspondence with Gustavus: Besides, that these 1,720. Ecclefiastical Persons, terrify'd with the Danger n, and they had incurr'd, protested to him, they took with a the Charge of Gustavus's Letter, only to obtain a espect, Pass, and the Liberty of departing out of a Cirrogant ty, which was no longer engag'd in their Party. e con-Afterward they inveigh'd against the Rebellion of his of that Lord, with an Eloquence that was the emon. Effect of their Fear. They promis'd an unviola-Upfal ble Fidelity to King Christiern, whom they acother knowledg'd as their lawful Sovereign: and the d to be more effectually to justify themselves, and apery one peafe the Anger of the Vice-Roy and Archbishop, elight, they told 'em, That the Peafants had abandon'd erve to Gustavus, and gave 'em an Account of the State Counof the City, and the Forces of that Lord, which they likewise diminish'd, according to the usual m, de-Language of Deserters, on purpose to make their p, and Court, and to obtain a more favourable Treat-

> ment. The Arch-bishop demanded Troops of the Vice-Roy, with which he promis'd to surprize Gustavus in Upfal, and bring him back Prisoner, or at least to force him to flee once more to the Mountains of Dalecarlia. In Compliance with his Defire, the Vice-Rcy gave him three thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, which was the greatest Part of the Garrison of Stockholm: The Arch-bishop march'd at the Head of these Forces, with so much Diligence and Secrecy, that he was very near feizing on the Person of Gustavus in Upfal; for he receiv'd Advice of his Defigns only two Hours before his Arrival, by the Means of two Swedish Gentlemen, who seem'd still of the Archbishop's Party, but had been gain'd by Gustavus; they departed privately, and came with all possible Speed to give him Notice of the

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1520. Danger that threaten'd him. The City was large and open on all Sides, and the Inhabitants were also well affected to the Archbishop, who was their Lord; and therefore Gustavus did not think fit, with fo small a Number of Troops that remain'd under his Command, to undertake the Defence of the Place, but instantly caused the Infantry to file off towards the Forest of Nostan, and put himself in the Rear with his Troop of Horse and his

Guards, to secure their March.

He had scarce got out of the City, when the Archbishop enter'd it, at the Head of all his Forces; and as foon as he was inform'd of Gullagus's Departure, he pursu'd him with all his Horse. The Danes overtook him at the Ford of Lateby, where his Infantry, already terrify'd with a precipitated Retreat, ran away at the Sight of the Enemy; and even his Cavalry, tho' retain'd by his Presence, were dismay'd, while the whole Multitude press'd forward to gain the Forest. His Squire being mounted on an unruly Horfe, and hurry'd away in this Diforder, unhappily fell upon his Mafter, and threw him backward into the Water, out of which he was immediately rescu'd by his Guards. But Gustavus was so far from being daunted with the Hazard he had run, or discourag'd by the Number of his Enemies, that he rode boldly at the Head of his Guards; and that brave Lord, who was equally remarkable for the graceful Height of his Statut and undaunted Courage, sustain'd, almost alone, the whole Shock of the Danish Army, while his Troops were gaining the Forest: As soon as he faw them in Safety, he retir'd in spite of the Multitude of those that charg'd him, having lost in the Encounter only ten or twelve Horse; so that this was all the Advantage that the Archbishop gain'd gain'd the I him a

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The Danger to which he had been expos'd by the Means of this Prelate, serv'd only to revive his Courage and Resentment; so that he form'd a Design to surprize him by way of Retaliation; to which Purpose he recall'd Part of the Troops, which he had given to Arwide, and fent them Orders to lie hid in the Woods on the Road from Stockholm to Upfal. At the same Time he receiv'd the German Troops, commanded by Col. de Sassi; July 5. and most part of his Friends, alarm'd at the Danger he had incurr'd on this Occasion, repair'd to him with great Diligence; the Hatred they bore to Christiern, and the Fear of falling again under his Power, rendring Gustavus's Person extremely dear to all the Swedes; infomuch, that within a few Days he found himself Master of a new Army, capable of keeping the Field: He encamp'd near the Castle of Rimning, and made an Intrenchment there, as if he had only the fame Troops with which he march'd out of Upfal. He also took all the necessary Precautions to conceal the Knowledge of his Forces from the Archbishop, and to promote the Confidence and Presumption with which he was possess'd, by reason of the small Advantage he had gain'd.

This Prelate being puffed up with the Pride of having put Gustavus to Flight, set forward to return to Stockholm, as that prudent Lord had foreseen, and march'd with the same State as if he led his Enemy Prisoner with him: But his Troops fell into the Ambush; for Arwide's Infantry that lay hid in the Wood, suddenly appear'd, and fell on 'em with terrible Shouts. The Arch-bishop, who sear'd no Enemies where Gustavus was not

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present, being surpriz'd with an unexpected At-1520. tack, determin'd to re-enter into Upfal; but he met with that Lord on the Road, who had thrown himself, during his March, between the City and his Forces: Whereupon the Danes were struck with Terror, and faw themselves bejet both in Front and Rear; feme of 'em endeavour'd to advance towards Stockholm, and others return'd towards Up/al: Every one in this Differder imagin'd the Opposition and Danger to be less where he was not, yet met with the Enemy and Death whitherlocver they went. Thus the greater part of the Danes were cut to pieces, and the rest provided for their Safety by Flight. The Arch-bishop, who had boatted that he would take Gustavus Prisoner, could scarce bring back the fixth part of the Forces with which he was entrusted by the Vice-Roy. In the mean while Gustavus re-enter'd into Upfal at the Head of his victorious Army, and perceiving that no Agreement cou'd be any longer made with the Arch-bishop, caus'd a Tower to be demolish'd, which ferv'd both as an Ornament and a Fort in the Arch-bishop's Quarter, to hinder the Danes from lodging in it for the future.

The Doctrine of Luther began to be introduc'd about this Time into Sweden, and in Gustavus's Army. The German Soldiers first brought it thither, but their Religion consisted only in their Licentiousness, and the Contempt with which they treated the Monks, and all Sorts of Religious Orders. Afterwards the two Brothers, Laurentius and Olaus Petri, of the Province of Nericia, propagated this Doctrine with very great Success. They had both study'd under Luther in the University of Wirtemberg; they brought both his Doctrine and Writings into Sweden, and publish'd them

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Laurentius Petri, who was naturally timorous, discover'd his Sentiments with much Reservedness and Precaution; he contented himself only with dispersing Luther's Books in private, and discourfing about them with his particular Friends; but Olaus, who was bold and eloquent, publickly preach'd Lutheranism in the Church of Stregnez, whereof he was Canon and Protonotary: He inveigh'd in his Sermons against the ill Use the Clergy and Monks made of their Power and Riches, and was chearfully heard by the People, who were not ignorant that the Ambition of the Bishops had caus'd all the Calamities of Sweden.

Afterward he held Conferences, posted up Thefes in Upfal, disputed every Day in the University of that City, and finally left no Means unattempted to spread abroad his Master's Doctrine, during the Disorders and Commotions of the Civil War; a Time always favourable for the Change or Establishment of new Religions. These Opinions were readily embrac'd by the Youth, and he gain'd the most part of the Professors and Scholars of the University, who esteem'd it their Honour to become the Ministers and Publishers of that Dodrine, and every one was defirous to be instru-Thus Lutheranism pass'd insensibly from cted in it . the Schoolinto the Houses of private Persons, and the Families were divided; every one taking part according to his Inclination; while some maintain'd the Roman Catholick Religion, because it was that of their Fathers; and some adher'd to it purely upon the Score of its Antiquity; others complain'd of the Abuses which the Covetousness

of

1520. of the Clergy had introduced into the Administration of the Sacraments, and attack'd those Abuses with so much the more Heat, as they found it their Interest to discredit 'em. The very Women en. gag'd in these Disputes, some out of Vanity, and others thro' an excessive Fear of not being in the true Way to Salvation; and every one let up for a Judge of Controversies. The remaining Part of the Bishops of Sweden, after the Massacre of Stockholm, being more mindful of Gustavus's Conquests than of their Episcopal Functions in their respective Diocesses, took no Notice of the Progress of Lutheranism. Gustavus, for his Part, was desirous to conceal his Knowledge of these Opinions, whether he look'd upon them as the Effect of some Disputes among idle Divines; or perhaps he was not displeas'd, that in a Kingdom, in which the Bishops had so far oppos'd his Designs, there should arise, even from amidst the Clergy, a Party that made Profession of condemning the Temporal Power, and great Revenues of those Prelates.

Gustavus after the Flight of the Arch-bishop reunited all his Forces, which were divided into different small Bodies, and march'd directly to Stockholm. He did not design as yet to undertake the Siege, as not having a Fleet to block up the Harbour; but he only caus'd his Army to draw near, hoping that the Consternation of the Danes, upon the Defeat of the Arch-bishop, might give Occasion to the Friends, whom he had in the Place, to attempt somewhat in his Behalf. The Vice-Roy and Arch-bishop having little Assorance of the Fidelity of the Burghers; and being afraid to fall into the Hands of Gustavus, refolv'd to make their Escape whilst the Sea continu'd open. They conferr'd the Government of the Place upon an antient Officer, who com-

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manded the Garrison, and retir'd with Precipitation into Denmark, giving out that they only went to hasten the Succours which were expected daily from Christiern. And 'tis certain that he us'd his utmost Endeavours to send an Army into Sweden; but the Danes terrify'd with the Massacre of Stockholm, detested both his Enterprize and Government, and refus'd to grant him any Kind of Supplies, under Pretence that they were already exhausted by the long Continuance of the War.

Gustavus was over-joy'd to hear that the two Prelates were departed for Denmark; fince the Vice-Roy feem'd to leave him the Kingdom by his Flight, and the Retreat of the Arch-bishop freed him from an Enemy that was always formidable, by Reason of his Authority over the Clergy; but the Governor put Things into fo good Order in Stockholm, that the Inhabitants were not able to undertake any Attempt in Gustavus's Favour: at the same Time that Lord receiv'd a Courier from Arwide, who brought him Word that he had made himself Master of the Castles of Wadestene, Hora, and Scening in Oftrogothland; that at the very first Approach of his Forces, the Towns of Lincoping, Norcoping, and Sudercoping, had taken up Arms, and expell'd the Danes; and that he was marching to befiege the Castle of Stegeburg, in which Colonel Bernard de Milen, a German by Nation, kept Garrison with his Regiment.

The great Joy occasion'd by such prosperous Successes was allay'd with the sad News, which Gustavus receiv'd of the deplorable Death of his Mother and Sister. For King Christiern exasperated at the Progress of his Victories, of which he was certainly assured by the Flight of the

Vice-

be wrapp'd up in a Sack, and cast into the Sea; and gave Orders, at the same Time, to the Danish Officers, who commanded in those Places, which still remain'd under his Dominion in Sweden, to destroy all the Swedes that were still among his Troops, as so many Traytors hir'd by his Enemy; which Orders were put in Execution with a great deal of Inhumanity, especially by the Government of Aboo, the Capital City of Finland, who put to Death many Finlandish Gentlemen of his Government.

Gustavus being extremely afflicted at the Loss of his Mother and Sifter, publish'd a Proclamation in his Army, as also in all the Places where his Authority was acknowledg'd, that all the Danes that could be taken shou'd be put to Death without Mercy: hoping that these violent Proceedings would render Christiern more odious to his own Subjects. He left the greater part of his Forces before Stockholm, to form a Blockade under the Command of Colonel de Sassi and Fradage, and afterwards march'd into Offrogothland; which was almost wholly gain'd by the prudent Conduct, and the Valour of Arwide, and had lately declar'd against the Danes. Gustavus put Garrifons into all the Towns that had adher'd and own'd his Authority, caus'd the old Fortifications to be carefully repair'd, order'd new ones to be made in all Places where they were necessary, and left 'em under the Command of Governors that were zealous Defenders of their Country, and for the most part had been out-law'd by Christiern. All the Noble Men of the Province appear'd before him to offer their Service, and to congratulate him upon the happy Success of his Arms. The Bishop of Lincoping alone was disturb'd

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and wavering, notwithstanding so speedy and private a Revolution, and thut himself up in his Cafile of Munquebode, not daring as yet to declare for

Gustavus.

This was the same Prelate who had fortunately cscap'd the Massacre of Stockholm; so that the Risque that he run on this Occasion, made him look upon all the Parties that oppos'd Christiern's Interest as so many dangerous Precipices; neither could all Gultavus's Conquests revive his Spirits, as being perfuaded that he could never be able to maintain a War against so potent a Monarch as the King of Denmark, and expecting every Moment to fee this Prince re-enter Sweden at the Head of a formidable Army, to treat Gustavus and his Followers, as he had done Eric Vafa his Father and the rest of the Senators. He exhorted the People, both by Word and Writing, not to be concern'd in the Commotions of the State, tho' the only Reason why he made so great a Noise, was, that he might have a suffici-Number of Witnesses, to depose, that he had constantly persever'd in supporting the Interest of Denmark.

Gustavus incens'd at the Weakness and Cowardice of that Prelate, who in the Middle of a Province, whereof he was Master, durst not declare against the Danes, march'd toward his Cafile, at the Head of part of his Troops, with a Defign to oblige him to explain himself, and to drive him out of his Hold, if, after the ill Treatment he had receiv'd from Christiern, he still persisted in taking his part. The Bishop being inform'd of the Displeasure and March of Gustavus, went out to meet him with his principal Clergy, and to appease his Anger omitted neither Commendations, nor Protestations of his Fidelity. It was indeed

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1520. the Interest of Gustavus to make himself Master of the Bishop's Castle, which was fortify'd, but he durst not put a Garrison into it, lest even those of his own Party should blame him for violating the Privileges of the Clergy in the Person of a Bishop, that could not be accus'd of appearing in Arms, and who had voluntarily open'd the Gates of his Castle. Gustavus contented himself with giving him a severe Reprimand, and the Bishop thought himself very happy to purchase his Liberty at the Rate of some Oaths of Fidelity, which he was fully resolv'd to keep no longer, than he shou'd be over-aw'd by the Presence and Arms of

Gustavus.

That victorious Lord having establish'd so good Order throughout all his Conquests, solemnly call'd a Meeting or Convention of the Estates of the Kingdom at Wadestene, to give some Form to the Government, and more especially to cause his own Authority to be confirm'd and acknowledg'd, which as yet he held only by the Right of his Sword, and the Election of certain Peasants of Dalecarlia. Few of the Deputies of the Provinces were present in this Assembly; for the Murther of the principal Nobility, the Difference of Parties, the Diforders of the War, the marching of Troops, and even the Fear of some new Revolutions in Favour of King Christiern, hinder'd the greatest part of the Deputies from appearing. The Convention was scarce compos'd of any other Persons than military Officers, and many Gentlemen, who were outlaw'd by Christiern, and reforted to Gustavus's Army, as it were to a Sanctuary or Place of Refuge; fo that the whole Body of the State was in a Manner comprehended in the Army. Gustavus represented to them with a graceful Mien, and a charming Eloquence, the Necessity of proceeding

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to the Election of an Administrator, who might be capable of giving the last fatal Blow to the Danish Tyranny; and that the Forces of that Nation, now in the Kingdom, were rather Prisoners than Masters in the Places they posses'd; that afterwards he told them with a great deal of Generosity, that he did not intend that his Services should constrain their Choice, assuring them that he would be the first that should acknowledge that Person among them whom they should think sit to Elect, and that in whatsoever Rank they plac'd him, he should always esteem himself happy in fighting and exposing his Life for the Desence of his Country.

The Estates answer'd his Harangue with the Applause and Applauding Acclamations that were due to his Valour and Moderation: All the Gentlemen and Officers in the Convention were infeparably united to his Person and Fortune; they subfifted only by his Benefits, and there was no Safety for them in Sweden except in his Army: The whole Affembly earnestly intreated him to take upon himfelf the Charge of the Government, and they were desirous even to confer upon him the Quality of King, to engage him more effectually to defend his Country; but he positively refus'd that Title, and contented himself after the Example of his Predecessors, with the Quality of Administrator, as being more modest, and more agreeable to the State of his Fortune, and the present Posture of the Kingdom. Then all the Members of the Estates took an Oath of Allegiance to him, and he wasacknowledg'd and proclaim'd with a loud Voice in the Afsembly of the Estates, and in the Army, as the General Governor and Sovereign Administrator of Sweden.

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Revolutions in SWEDEN.

PART II.



USTAVUS having difmis'd the Affembly, began to give a full career to his vast Designs, and to follow the motions of that noble Ardor which prompted him to extend his Conquests, and

atchieve some new Exploits that might answer the hope and expectation of the Swedes. The success of his Arms, the Glory of his Victories, the number and valour of his Troops, and the Zeal and Affection of the People, inspir'd him with Thoughts suitable to his Courage and Ambition, and flatter'd him with the alluring Prospect of mounting the Throne of Sweden, as soon as he should complete the great Work in which he was engag'd, by the entire Expulsion of the Danes out of the Kingdom.

the Task he had undertaken; the Danes were still Masters of the capital City, and of several Provinces, and he wanted Mony to carry on the War. But for his comfort he perceiv'd that his Adversary labour'd under the same Inconveniency; and his Wants were in a manner supply'd by the Poverty of his Enemies. This Encouragement was sufficient to keep him from despairing of Success, but he was not willing to build his Hope on so uncertain a Foundation. He either sold or mortgag'd all his Patrimonial Lands, to make new Levies; wisely considering, that he parted only with an Estate, of which an unfortunate Battle might quickly deprive him, and that a Victory would make up all his Losses.

He fent fome of the Forces, which he had newly levy'd, to Arwide, with Orders to carry on the Siege of Stegeburgh with vigour. Colonel de Saffi and Fredage befieg'd Stockholm, which they had block'd up for some time. The Administrator sent another Body of his Men to Finland under the Command of Arwide's Brother, and kept a flying Camp with himself, for the security of his Person, and the execution of his private Deligns. He run thro' all the Provinces with an incredible Diligence; and it may be faid, in some sense, that he was present in all his Armies at once. He projected every Enterprize, and both contriv'd and executed all the Attempts that were made. He pass'd frequently thro the Enemy's Country, and even under the Cannon of their Garrisons, without being affaulted; the lecrecy of his Designs, and the quickness of his Marches, fecuring him from their Attacks. He went to Smaland in Person, and made himself Master of that Province, almost in less time than would seem necessary to travel thro it.

December From thence he march'd to Stegeburgh, which was fill besieg'd by Arwide, and defended with great

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Courage and Resolution by the Governor. The whole Fortune of that Officer confisted in the Government of this Place; and he endeavour'd to preserve it as his Estate and Patrimony, rather than out of Zeal and Fidelity to his master's Interest. Gustaous foon discover'd his weak side, and concluding that he might be more easily brib'd than forc'd, made some advantageous Proposals to him, which quickly produc'd the defir'd effect. The Governour was not able to refift the Presence and Bounty of that young Conqueror; he not only furrender'd the Place, but enter'd into his late Enemy's Service, and the whole Garrison follow'd his Example. So powerfully was he charm'd with that Prince's Valour and Generofity, and allur'd with the Pensions and Preferment which he bestow'd upon him.

After the Reduction of Stegeburgh, Gustavus made himself Master of the Castles and Forts of Nicoping and Tynello; from whence he march'd to Westmania, and took the Cattle of Westeras, which by a long Blockade was reduc'd to a scarcity of Provisions, and could not expect relief. However, he granted honourable Terms to the Governor, besides an advantageous Composition in private: For 'twas one of his Maxims, That a Conqueror can never pay too dear a Price for the Time be faves; and tho' he was full of Courage and undaunted Bravery, 'twas his usual Custom to court his Enemies before he attack'd'em, and only to force those who would not be gain'd. He had the Art of preparing his Designs for Execution by private Negotiations, and was admirably well acquainted with all the mysterious Secrets of the most refin'd Politicks.

As foon as he had made himself Master of the Cafile of Westeras, he march'd toward Stockholm at the Head of his Army, refolving to command in Person at the Siege, and to complete the Conquest of the Kingdom by the Reduction of the capital City.

M 2

with the unwelcome News of the Defeat of his two Officers that lay before it, and of the raifing of the

Siege. King Christiern had made a desperate Effort to prevent the loss of Sweden; he had fitted out a potent Fleet, mann'd with a considerable number of Land Forces: And Admiral Norbi, who express'da great deal of Zeal and Forwardness on this Occasion.

great deal of Zeal and Forwardness on this Occasion, was intrusted with the Conduct of the Expedition.

That Lord could not forgive Gustavus for getting the start of him, and baulking the secret Designs he had form'd against Sweden; and Christiern imagin'd that his extreme Aversion and Spight against that Prince, which he did not endeavour to diffemble, proceeded merely from his Loyalty and Zeal for the Interest of his Sovereign. He had us'd a great deal of Diligence, and even spent a great deal of Mony in fitting out the Fleet: His Friends accompanied him in the Expedition, the Troops that he commanded were absolutely devoted to him, and hestill entertain'd some flattering Hopes, that if he could beat Gustavus, 'twould not be impossible to obtain the Dignity of Administrator, and afterwards to mount the Throne, by improving the violent Hattel with which the Swedes were posses'd against the Ty-

ranny of his Mafter.

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Gustavus had no Fleet at Sea to dispute the passage of the Danes; their Admiral enter'd without any opposition into the Port of Stockholm, and as toonas his Troops were landed, made a Sally with all his Forces to surprize the Besiegers. There was a lucky Combination of several Circumstances that seem'd to savour the execution of his Designs: for besides the Weakness of his Enemies at Sea, there was a satal misunderstanding betwixt the two Officers that commanded the Siege. The German Colonel, who was an old and weather-beaten Soldier, claim'd the supreme Command, as an Honour due to his Skill

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proud and confident of his own Courage, and too calous of the Honour of his Nation, to submit to a Man whom he did not think braver than himself.

After this unhappy Difference, they lodg'd their Troops in separate Quarters, without the least Communication between one another: They acted on all Occasions like declar'd Enemies, and were more suspicious of each other than of the Danish Garrison, whom they despited both for their Weakness and the Smellpale of their Numbers.

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Norbi taking the Advantage of fo favourable an Opportunity, made a Saily upon Fredage's Quarters; and the Swedes were so ill prepar'd to receive him, that they abandon'd their Lines, and endeavour'd to fave themselves by a shameful Flight. The German Colonel was so far from affifting 'em, that he remain'd an unconcern'd Spectator of the Action, and even rejoic'd at their Misfortune: But he was foon made fenfible of his Imprudence, for his Camp was attack'd fo vigorously by the Danish Admiral, that his Soldiers were not able to endure so furious a Shock, and fled after a flight Refiftance. Thus Norbi had the good Fortune to succeed in his first Attempt; and that he might not lose the Fruit of so important a Victory, he order'd the Soldiers of the Garrison to fill up the Lines, and demolish all the Enemy's Works, while the rest of the Troops were in pursuit of the routed Befiegers.

Yet the Shame and Confusion of this Defeat, was greater than the Loss they sustain'd: for the greatest Part of the Swedish Troops rally'd again under their respective Officers. The two Commanders endeavour'd reciprocally to cast the Blame of this Disaster upon one another. Their common Missortune exasperated the Fury of their Aversion, and widen'd the Breach that was betwixt'em: But Gustavus was too deeply concern'd in the satal Consequences of

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1522. that unhappy Division, to suffer it to make a farther Progress. He march'd with all possible haste tothe Army, and by his Presence depriv'd 'em both of that Power and Superiority, which was the main Caute of their Hatred and Jealoufy. Immediately after he gave Orders to his Troops to repair to their former Pofts, and renew'd the Siege, not with standing the great sharpness of the Winter, that the News of his Arrival might prevent, or at leaf lessen the Noise of the Defeat of his Army.

Norbi was not much alarm'd at this fecond Attempt, which was rather a Blockade than a Seige He left a strong Garrison in the Town, and being Master of the Sea set sail for Finland, where he put to flight Arwide's Brother, whom Gustavus hadsen

to reduce that Province.

The Administrator perceiving that he cou'd not hope to succeed in his Designs, nor to make himself Master of Stockholm, without a Fleet to block up the Port, dispatch'd his Secretary Signard de Holten to haften the Succours which that Republick had promis'd him, and to obtain a sufficient Number both of Men and Ships to carry on the War. This Envoy was more favourably receiv'd than his Predecessor; for the Magistrates of that City had heard of the Action at Stockholm, and believ'd the Accounts that were industriously spread abroad by the Danes, who gave out that the Administrator's Army was totally defeat-And therefore fince 'twas their Interest to prevent the utter Ruin of that Prince, as well as to curb the Progress of his Victories, they were foon perluded to grant the Succours which he demanded, thinking by that means to perpetuate the War betwixth Northern Crowns. They oblig'd themselves to send forthwith eighteen Men of War, with four thoufand Soldiers, furnish'd with one Year's Pay: But at the same time they resolv'd to make the Adminifirator pay dear for the Affiftance they gave him.

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In the Name and Behalf of the Estates of Sweden, to pay to their City for the Charge of the Fleet, the Sum of sixty thousand Marks of Silver; That till the Kingdom shou'd be in a Condition to advance so considerable a Sum, the Merchants of Lubeck, trading to Sweden, shou'd be exempted from all Customs and Duties, for the Goods which they shou'd either export or import; That no other Nation shou'd be permitted to trade in the Kingdom; That the Administrator shou'd not conclude a Peace or Truce with Denmark, without the Consent of the Regency; and, That in case they shou'd be attack'd by Christiern, he shou'd be oblig'd to invade Denmark with twenty thousand Men, to make a Diversion.

The greatest Part of these Conditions seem'd very hard to Gustavus: For he perceiv'd that the Execution of this Treaty wou'd ruin the Trade of the Kingdom, and quite destroy the Revenue of the Crown, which at that time confifted almost wholly in the Customs that were laid upon the Importation and Exportation of Goods. But on the other hand, there was an absolute Necessity for a Fleet to carry on the Siege of Stockholm, Calmar, and other Maritime Places. He had no Money either to build or buy Ships, and was fenfible, that as long as Christiern shou'd remain Master of the Sea, and consequently of these Ports, he might eafily prolong the War, by pouring in fresh Forces into the Kingdom. Thus the Administrator was constrain'd to conclude a Treaty, which wou'd have been shameful and dishonourable, if it had not been necessary: Signard de Holten fign'd it by his Order, and the Fleet fer fail some time after. Frederick Brum was Admiral of the Navy, and the Land Forces were commanded by John Stammel.

The Fleet arriv'd fafely in the Port of Sudercoping, on Whitson-Eve, and the Troops that were to serve ashore

1522. ashore were landed. As foon as the Administrator receiv'd the News of their Arrival, he fent Bernard de Milen, who was their Countryman, to administer the Oath of Fidelity to 'em: But they refused obstinately to obey or acknowledge that Officer, tho' he was a Native of Germany. They begg'd earnestly that they might see Gustavus; and the greatest Part of 'em protested, that they wou'd never have left their Country, if they had not expected to ferve under a Prince whose valour was celebrated thro'all Germany.

To fatisfy these Foreign Auxiliaries, the Administrator was oblig'd to take a Journey to Sudercoping. He charm'd them with the gracefulness of his Mien, and gain'd their Hearts with the winning Eloquence of his Discourse. They took the usual Oath of Fidelity for the time their Superiors had engag'd 'em in his Service, with all imaginable Expressions of Joy and Chearfulness; and resolv'd to follow his Fortune with as ardent a Zeal, as if they had been

born his Subjects.

He made use of these Troops to reinforce the Army that lay before Stockholm, ordering 'em to encamp on the fide next the Sea, over-against the Port, which was the weakest Part of the Camp. At the same time he form'd a Squadron of as many Ships as he cou'd find, and gave the Command of it to Eric Fleming, a Finlandish Lord, with Orders to cruife before the Harbour, that all Hope of Relief

might be cut off from the Besieged.

Fleming lying in the height of Stockholm, discover'd a Squadron of Danish Ships making their way directly towards the Harbour. This was a confiderable Convoy, commanded by the Governor of Aboo, whom Norbi had fent tore-victual Stockholm; for it feems he had not yet receiv'd Advice that the Regency of Lubeck had declar'd for the Swedes, and that their Fleet kept the Sea. Immediately Fleming gave orders to all his Ships to stand in behind the

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Cape of Stockholm; and in the mean time the Danish Commodore with the Ships under his Command, advanc'd with a favourable Gale, having order'd two light Frigates to fail before the Fleet, at an equal distance, to make Discoveries.

As foon as the first of these Frigates had doubled the Cape, the was furrounded and taken by Fleming, who took out all the Ship's Company, and mann'd her with Swedish Seamen and Soldiers. Then, without losing time, he went on board his Prize, and put out to Sea to meet the other Frigate, which was making the best of her way, without the least sufpicion of what had happen'd. As foon as the Commodore of the Convoy, who was on board that Vefsel, perceiv'd the first Frigate making towards him, he came in his Boat to learn the Cause of her return; but instead of receiving the Advice he expected, he found himself in the Hands of his Enemies. Immediately Fleming gave the fignal for the whole Fleet to come up; and made himself Master of the Convoy and all the Ships in his Company, before the Captains, who were at a loss for want of their Admiral, cou'd agree upon the Order of Battle. There was only one Finlandish Ship that made Resistance; the Captain defended himself with extraordinary Valour from Noon till Night; and at last choic rather to burn his Ship, than to fall under the Power of his Enemies. The Commodore of the Convoy was hang'd by Gustavus's Order, by way of Reprifal, or Retaliation, for the Cruelties he had committed in his Government.

This was a very mortifying Piece of News to Admiral Norbi, who, reckoning himself Master of these Seas, could not endure to be affronted in his own Element, by such bungling Seamen as the Swedes were generally reputed to be. He order'd his Fleet to be fitted out with all possible haste; and as soon as it was ready to put to Sea, he set sail with a Con-

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1522. Convoy of Provisions and Soldiers for Stockholm, which was still closely block'd up by Gustavus. As foon as he drew near the Lubeck-Fleet and Fleming's Squadron, which were riding at Anchor in the Road of that City, the Guns on both Sides began to play very furioufly, and the two Fleets continu'd a whole Day firing at one another without Intermission. Norbi intended to renew the Fight the next Morn. ing; but perceiving some Appearances of an approaching Storm, he was forc'd to stand in to a lit. tle Island, where there was fafe Anchorage, tho'it

was very near the Shore.

Having cast Anchor in that Place, he was surpriz'd in the Night with so violent a Frost, that all his Ships were engaged in the Ice. Gustavus hearing of this Accident, resolved not to neglect so fair an Opportunity of obtaining a compleat and easy Victory, by fetting fire to his Enemy's Navy. In pursuance of that Defign, he march'd immediately with the Forces of Lubeck, who were encamp'd on that fide, and whom he thought fitter for such an Attempt than the Dalecarlians and other Peasants, of whom his Army was compos'd. He past over into the Island upon the Ice, and gave Orders to the Soldiers to advance as near the Enemy as they cou'd, during the Obscurity of the Night. They quickly found that Norbi was not afleep, for upon their Approach, they were faluted with repeated Discharges of great and small Shot. However, they receiv'd the Enemy's Fire without shrinking, and march'd on boldly to the sides of the Ships: some shot Arrows, others darted burning Torches, and some transported with the Eagerness of their Courage, endeavour'dto climb up the Sides of the Ships; but they were quickly repuls'd and thrown down upon the Iceby the Danes, who fought with Advantage from the Decks of their Ships. The Action was extreamly hot on both fides: The Danes were attack'd with

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with xtraextraordinary Vigour and Obstinacy, and defended themselves with no less Courage and Bravery; but notwithstanding all their Care and Resistance, several Ships were fet on fire, and both the Conquer'd and Conquerors were forc'd, with equal Hafte and Precipitation, to avoid the Fury of the mercileis Flames. The gloomy Horror of the Night, the Shrieks of half-burnt Wretches, the falling of Mafts and cracking of the Ships, with the confus'd Medly of fo many difmal Objects, struck the most undaunted Minds with a fecret and refiftless Terror. The Danes were at once affaulted by the raging Rire and their victorious Enemies: They had already lost several Ships, and could not have fav'd one of the relt, if those who commanded under Gustavus wou'd have completed the Victory.

The Lubeck General order'd a Retreat to be found-Stammel. ed in the hear of the Action; and in spite of Gustaous's Threats and Intreaties, drew off his Troops, under pretext that they were too much expos'd to the Enemy's Fire. 'Tis not certainly known whether he was fecretly gain'd by Norbi, as the Administrator suspected; or whether he had receiv'd private Orders from his Superiors to prolong the War, by balancing the Advantages on both fides. The Season was not yet so far advanc'd, but that the Heat Novemof the Sun in the Morning was strong enough to thaw ber. the Ice, which was quickly dispers'd by a brisk Southerly Gale, which happen'd to arise at the same Time. Norbi set fail immediately, and retir'd to the Port of Calmar, with the rest of his Fleet which was extremely shatter'd.

Gustavus was enrag'd at the Lubeck General's Treachery, who, by an ill-tim'd Retreat, had robb'd him of a certain Victory, and retarded the Conquest of Stockholm, upon which the success of all his Designs depended. He was convinc'd, by this Action, that he cou'd not safely rely upon such Allies, who

had

1522. had only affifted him out of a politick Defign to put a stop to the growing Power of Denmark; and concluded that they wou'd not only withdraw their Affiltance, but turn their Arms against him, if he shou'd, by extending his Conquests, make himself the Object of their Fear. However, the necessity of having a Fleet to block up the Port of Stockholm, made him diffemble his Anger; and having fent those foreign Troops into good Winter Quarters, he continued the Blockade with an Army of his own Subjects, who were accustom'd to endure Cold, and to encamp in the Snow. In the mean time he took Care to keep so strict a Guard upon all the Avenues of the Town, that 'twas impossible for the Enemy to supply it either with Men or Frovifions

Norbi hearing of the Extremity to which the Place was reduc'd, resolv'd to hazard another Battle, as foon as the Sea should be open. He bestow'd a great deal of Care and Charge upon the careening and fitting out of his Fleet, and mann'd it with a confiderable Number of Soldiers, whom he drew out of the Garrisons of the Isle of Gothland, and of the City of Calmar, of which he was Governor. He was still entertaining himself with the pleasing Hope of forcing Gustavus once more to raise the Siege of the capital City of Sweden, when he receiv'd Advice, that all Denmark was in Arms against Chrifliern.

That violent Prince contemning the Laws and Privileges of his Country, imagin'd that he might, without Controul, dispose of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects as he pleas'd, and make his own fantastick Humour the Standard and Measure of his Government. The Bithops and Nobility were the principal Objects of his Fury; for the consciousness of his own Guilt made him conclude that they cou'd not continue loyal to their tyrannical OpPart pressor two B

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pressor. He had put to Death several Lords and two Bishops without any form of Justice; and both the Clergy and Nobility were equally incens'd against him. Those Barbarities, and the Massacre of Stockholm, procur'd him the Hatred of all his Subjects; but their Hatred was accompained with so much Fear, that notwithstanding all his Cruelties, he might have still continu'd on the Throne if he had not over-loaded the Danes with insupportable Taxes and Impositions to carry on the War against Sweden, which was still his predominant Passion.

At last the People grew weary of Slavery and Oppression, and cou'd no longer bear the unsufferable Yoke of fo Tyrannical a Government: They lost their fear and Patience, at the same time that they lost their Estates, and chearfully imbrac'd the Quarrel of the Clergy and Nobility: Allthings being ripe for an univerfal Insurrection, and the Conspiracy being carried on by the united Counsels and Interests of all the Estates and Orders of the Kingdom; they enter'd into a fecret Treaty with Frederick of Oldenburgh, Duke of Holstein, and King Christiern's Uncle. That Prince liv'd quietly in the Lands of his Appenage, and had never discover'd any Ambition: But he was so dazzed with the tempting Prospect of a Crown that he heard with Pleasure the Proposals of the Malecontents, and consented to the Dethroning of his Nephew, concluding that the tyrannical Proceedings of that unhappy Prince wou'd justify his appearing in Arms against him, and save him from the Character of an Usurper. He levy'd Troops in his own Lands to support the Malecontents: And the Revolt began in the Province of Jutland, which borders upon Holstein. The Estates of that Country, assembled at Arbusen, depos'd Christiern publickly, and even had the confidence to fend him the Act or Instrument

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1522. strument of his Deposition by Munce, the chief Ju. flice of that Province.

Christiern was extremely daunted with this Meffage, which a wifer and more resolute Prince wou'd have answer'd at the Head of his Army. He was still Master of the Kingdom of Norway, which King Christiern I. his Grandfather, had entail'd upon his Family. Copenhagen, and the Islands of the Baltick Sea, had not yet declar'd in favour of his Uncle; and he was fure of the Fleet under the Command of an Admiral, who was inseparably united to his Interest. Yet he neither endeavour'd to oppose the Mutineers, nor to dispute the Crown with the Duke of Holstein. He concluded that the Conspiracy was universal, tho it had only broken out in one Province. He was diffident and afraid of all Men, and even suspected his domestick Servants, and the Officers of his Houshold, fearing that they might be tempted to betray him to the Prince his Uncle. He degraded himself, and forgetting his Birth and Dignity, shamefully begg'd the Advice and Affiltance of those whom he had treated most unworthily. His Disgrace exposed him in his true and naked Colours to the Eyes of his Subjects, and shewed him to be as base and cowardly under Adversity, as he had been haughty and infolent in Prosperity. He chose rather to live a private Person than to die a King; and sav'd himself by an ignominious Flight out of his own Dominions, with the 1523. Queen his Wife, and the Princes his Children. He April 13. was also accompanied by Sigebrite, who notwith-

standing the ill Success of her Counsels, retain'd her wonted Empire and Authority over the Mind of this miserable Prince. He plac'd his only Confidence in the Assistance of his Brother-in-Law the Emperor, imagining that he wou'd arm all Germany to restore him to the Throne he had forsaken; as if he cou'd not have more eafily kept the Possession of

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n of his is Crown with his own Army, than regain it with 1523.

As soon as Norbi receiv'd the News of his Master's Flight and Abdication, he took his leave of Swelen, and gave over his Design of relieving Stockholm. He lest a weak Garrison in Calmar, and retir'd with his whole Fleet to the Isle of Gothland, under pretext of securing it for Christiern, tho his true Design was to keep it for himself, and under the Name of that Prince to make himself the absolute Master and Sovereign of the Island, while the Kingdoms of the North were distracted with such terrible Confusions.

Gustavus resolv'd to make the best Advantage of his Enemy's Retreat. He had some secret Intelligence in Calmar, who prevail'd with the Burghers to receive his Troops in the Night; and the whole Garrison was put to the Sword. At the same time Arwide seiz'd on the Isle of Doeland, and Bernard de Milen conquer'd all Bleking. And these Successes were quickly follow'd with the Reduction of the whole Kingdom, except Stockholm, and some places in Finland.

The Garrison of Stockholm, weaken'd by the length of the Siege, straiten'd both by Land and Sea, and kept in Awe by the Burghers of the City, who did not longer conceal their Affection to the Administrator, began to think of capitulating. They knew not for whose sake they suffer'd all the Incommodities of so close a Siege, and were reduc'd to such Extremities, by want of Pay and of necessary Provisions, that they offer'd to surrender, insisting only on the Payment of the Arrears due to 'em since they enter'd into the Place.

But Gustavus did not think fit to observe his usual Maxim on this Occasion: for the 'twas so much his Interest to be Master of that City, he rejected the advantageous Proposals that were made to him

by

1523. by the Garrison. He knew that their Numbers were extremely lessen'd, and that they wanted both Vic tuals and Powder. But this feeming Severity wa only a pretext to prolong the Siege for some Days which in the present juncture was a necessary piece of policy for the Advancement of his Fortune, and the carrying on of his fecret Defigns. He faw that Sweden was absolutely deliver'd from the Danis Yoke; that Christiern was hated and flighted by a the World, and that he wander'd about like a mi ferable Exile, begging the Assistance of his format Allies to restore him to the Crown of Denmark Gustavus had never a nearer Prospect of mounting the Throne; but at the same time he stood in need of his most refin'd Politicks to manage so nices Game: He consider'd that the reduction of Stock. bolm, instead of fixing him on the Throne, might fet him at a farther distance from it: He knewthat Ingratitude is the usual Companion of Security, and was afraid that the Swedes being freed from the apprehension of a common Enemy, wou'd not unanimoufly concur to his Election, and the Establishment of his Authority. And therefore he concluded, that the best resolution he cou'd take in socitical a Juncture was to lengthen the Siege of their Capital City, that the uncertainty of fo important an Event might keep 'em in awe, and in a dependence upon his Affistance.

In Pursuance of this Design he call'd a Meeting May 25. or Convention of the Estates at Stregnez, whither the Deputies of all the Provinces resorted, attended with a vast concourse of the Nobility and Common People, who slocked thither from all parts to see Gustavus, whom they look'd upon as the Hero and Guardian Angel of his Country. As soon as the Assembly was open'd they proceeded, to the Election of Senators, to supply the vacant Places of those who lost their Lives in the Massacre of

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Stockholm. The Administrator had so great an inoth Vie fluence upon the Deputies, and manag'd the Voices with fo succeisful a Dexterity, that the choice fell with so successful a Dexterity, that the choice fell Bernard upon such Persons as were intirely devoted to his ter Erland Interest, and were either his Relations or Crea- ward and tures.

The † Speaker of the Estates represented to the ming, Axel Danish Assembly the absolute necessity of proceeding spee-Andrew, and by all his Art in painting forth the Qualities of an Peter former excellent Prince, one that was vigilant, laborious, John, lennard, full of Courage, and endu'd with a sufficient Stock ounting of Valour and Prudence, to oppose the unjust pre-tensions of the Danes to the Swedish Crown: That dein this description they might see, and take notice of † Canus of Stock the Picture of Gustavus. He concluded; that after Provost of the State, and the illustrious Proofs he had given of Westeras: ty, and his extraordinary Endowments and Virtues, they The + Speaker of the Estates represented to the ming, Axel ty, and his extraordinary Endowments and Virtues, they the apwere oblig'd in gratitude to him, and in justice to tunants the Interests of those whom they represented, to confer the Royal Title and Authority upon their Benefactor.

This Discourse was receiv'd with an universal Applause. The Nobility and Commons transported with their Zeal and Affection, prevented the Senators and Deputies. The whole Assembly with loud Voice proclaim'd Gustavus, King of Sweden: 'T was impossible to gather the Votes, or to proceed according to the usual Forms that are oberv'd in such Cales. His praises were echo'd thro' the whole Convention; he was styl'd the Saviour and Deliverer of his Country: The Peafants and Burghers mingling confusedly with the Deputies, neglecting all Marks of Distinction, and even forgetting the respect they ow'd to the Senators and other Lords, struggl'd and crowded to approach the King. The name of Gustavus was repeated

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1523. by every Mouth; he was the Object of every Eye; and all in general endeavour'd to express their Joy at his Election, and to congratulate their own Hap. piness, in having an opportunity to contribute to his Advancement.

The Prince was charm'd with fo many extraordinary Demonstrations of his People's Affection: He own'd that it exceeded all his Services, and that their Kindness was more agreeable to him than the noble Effect of their Gratitude. He had so much real or feeming Modesty as to decline the offerther made him: But the first Words he utter'd to that Effect dampt the Joy of the whole Assembly. There was nothing to be feen or heard among 'em but Tears and Supplications; and so deep a Sorrow fat upon every Face, that one wou'd have though the Danes had been still at the Gates of the City. At last he was prevail'd with to submit to the pleafing Violence, and confented to an Advancement, which was both a Reward and an Effect of his Valour and Prudence. He was folemnly acknowledge as King and Sovereign of Sweden, and the two Goth lands; and receiv'd an Oath of Fidelity from the St nate and the Deputies of the Provinces.

The Estates wou'd have immediately proceeded to his Coronation, but he cunningly avoided that Ceremony, under pretext that he was oblig'd to return instantly to the Siege of Stockholm. true Reason why he refus'd to be crown'd so som was, that he was not yet sufficiently establish'd up on the Throne, to refuse the Oaths which the Cler gy exacted upon such Occasions for the Preservation

of their Rights and Privileges.

He invited the Senate and the greatest part of the Deputies to accompany him to the Army, that they might be present at the Surrendring of the capital City. He knew the place cou'd not hold out longer; for the Garrison was so pinch'd with Part

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Famine, and so afraid of the Burghers, who began 1523. openly to threaten 'em, that they defired several times to capitulate; but the Generals had Orders to prolong the Treaty during the Meeting of the Estates at Stregnez: As soon as the News of his Election and of his return to the Camp was divulg'd in the City, new Deputies were sent to him, and the Governor yielded up the Place, submitting all the Articles of the Capitulation to his Pleasure and Discretion.

He requir'd the Governor to deliver up to his Officers all the Mony, Papers, Furniture, and other Effects that belong'd to King Christiern, the Vice-Roy, Arch-Bishop Trolle, and Admiral Norbi. He permitted the Garrison to march out with their Arms and Baggage, upon condition that for the space of six Months they shou'd not bear Arms against the Crown of Sweden or its Allies. He oblig'd himself to provide Vessels to transport 'em to Wismar or Lubeck; and promis'd with a great deal of chear-sulness to preserve inviolably all the Privileges of the City.

As foon as the King's Forces had taken possession of the Town, he made his publick Entry, accompany'd with all the Senators, and follow'd by a vast Number of Lords, Gentlemen, and military Officers, all magnificently cloth'd. The Prince himfelf augmented the Splendor of the Cavalcade by his graceful Mien, and his noble and majestick Air, which was very advantageously set off by the Lustre of his Youth. He was receiv'd at the Gate by the Confuls and Magistrates, who presented the Keys of the City on their Knees: And the People mingling with the Soldiers without either Fear or Order, made the Air resound with a thousand joyful Acclamations. The King went strait to the Church, and gave thanks to God for the success of his Arms, after which, he gave a splendid Entertainment to N 2 all

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1523. all the Senators and the principal Officers of his

Army.

Thus Gustavus became Master of the capital City of his Kingdom, and began the publick Exercised the regal Authority: He fent orders to notify his Election, to all the Provinces, that the People might acknowledge him as Sovereign; and commanded all the Governors of Places, and the principal Officers of his Troops to repair with all diligence to their respective Posts. He gave Audience at all Hours, receiving Persons of Quality with Civility and Marks of Honour, and Persons of Merit with Demonstrations of Kindness and Esteem. The People began to breathe after fo many terrible Ditafters: Trade was reftor'd, and the Swedes had the pleasure to contemplate the unwonted Prospect of a lafting Peace. The whole Kingdom was freed from the tyrannical Dominion of its old Enemies, and subject to a Prince that was able to protect and defend it. He introduc'd a Politeness of Manners and Magnificence of Habit into the Court, that were not known, or at least not so remarkable, in the preceding Reigns. For there was a certain rough wildness in the Temper of most of that Nation, which stood very much in need of polishing and refining. And perhaps he us'd these Arts on purpose to allure the Nobility from their Country-Seats and Caffles, and to oblige 'em to depend upon the Court for Places, or Penfions to maintain the Charge of that expensive way of Living.

He had not forgotten the Danger to which he was expos'd by Peterson the Dalecarlian; but the good Office he receiv'd from the Wife, atton'd for the Treachery of the Husband. He remember'd also and design'd to reward the Kindness and Hospitality of the Curate of Suverdsio, who receiv'd him into his House, and entertain'd him in his lowest Condition: And hearing that his Benefactor was dead,

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he order'd a Crown of Copper gilt to be plac'd on 1523. the top of the Parish-Church, as a Monument of

his Gratitude.

Then the King sent the two Flemings with a strong Body of Soldiers to drive out the Danes, who were still Masters of some Places in Finland: And the Arrival of these two Lords at the Head of a victorious Army, struck their dishearten'd Enemies with such a Terror that they obey'd the first Summons, and furrender'd the Places without firing a Gun. They defir'd no other Conditions, but that they shou'd be safely conducted to Denmark, and were even glad to shelter themselves in the Swedish Army, from the Fury of an incens'd Rabble, who notwithstanding the Articles of their Capitulation wou'd have taken a full and bloody Revenge for all the Cruelties and Robberies they had committed in the Country during the Reign of Christiern But Gustavus took care to send 'em under the Protection of a strong Convoy to Denmark, where they fill'd the whole Country with the News of his Conquests and Election: The Officers extoll'd his Power, and the Numbers and Valour of his Armies, that they might not be censur'd for submitting to the unequal Force of fo potent an Enemy.

Arch-Bishop Trolle was extremely mortified with the Report of Gustavus's Advancement, which left him no hope of returning to Sweden and recovering his former Dignity. He staid in Denmark after his Master's Flight, where he liv'd obscurely, contemn'd by the Danes, and forgotten by the Court. He saw himself expos'd to the usual Fate of Traitors, who are always flighted and abhor'd, as foon as they become uteless and unserviceable; but his Temper was so little alter'd by his Missortunes, that he endeavour'd to regain his Credit and Interest by New Treasons, and by rekindling the Flame that kem'd to be almost extinguish'd. He address'd

him-

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1524. himself to the new King of Denmark, and told him, in a private Audience, that he had an undoubted Right to Sweden, as he was the Son of King Chri. fliern I. and that the Danes themselves wou'd despise him, if he shou'd tamely suffer that Crown to remain on the Head of an Usurper. He added, that the Swedish Clergy had not forgotten their old Affection to the Danish Interest; and affur'd him, that

> dom who wou'd own his Right, as soon as he shou'd think fit to claim it.

> Frederick was not able to withstand a Temptation that flatter'd his Interest and Ambition. He caus'd himself to be crown'd King of Sweden by that Prelate at Copenhagen; as if there had been nothing else requir'd to put him in possession of the Crown, but the Ceremony of fetting it on his Head. At the fame time he fent an Ambassador to the Senate of that Kingdom, to complain of the late Election, as a violation of the Treaty of Calmar, and an Injury

there were many confiderable Persons in that King-

to the Crown of Denmark.

The Senate of Sweden wou'd have fent the Ambaffador back without fuffering him to deliver his Meffage; but Gustavus was so far from being of that Opinion, that he sent some of his Officers to receive him, and allow'd him a magnificent Entertainment during his stay in the Kingdom. Afterwards he summon'd a Convention of the Estates, not so much to consult about the King of Denmark's Proposals, as to make that Prince's Envoy an Eye-witness of the Confirmation of his Election by all the Orders of the Kingdom. The Ambaffador was introduc'd into the Assembly, and in a long Harangue endeavour'd to convince 'em that they were oblig'd to own his Master's Title to the Crown of Sweden, by virtue of the Treaty of Calmar. He magnify'd the Power of that Monarch, and extol'd his Virtues and rare Endowments; concluding, that they ought to imitate

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the Example of the Norwegians, and put themselves under the Protection of a Prince that was able to defend 'em against the late King Christiern, who was preparing to force a Passage into the Kingdoms of the North with all the Forces of the Empire.

After the Assembly had heard this Discourse with a great deal of Impatience and Indignation, the Speaker of the Estates made a short, but very brisk He told the Ambassador, that and smart Reply. Sweden had been too long subject to the Dominion of her Enemies, and would take care to lodge the supreme Power in better hands for the future; that all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom had, by a voluntary Election, put themselves under the Protection of their Deliverer, who would preserve his Right and their Liberty in spite of the Pretensions and Opposition of the Danes; that the Treaty of Calmar was violated almost as soon as it was concluded; that the Swedes, notwithstanding their intestine Divisions, chose rather to make the Kingdom the Seat of a bloody War for more than a hundred Years, than to submit to a Treaty that was so injurious and odious to the whole Nation; and that now they were united under a victorious Prince, he would find it a hard Task to persuade 'em to resume their broken Fetters.

The Estates were not satisfy'd with rejecting the King of Denmark's Claim; but to give Gustavus a Loc. 1. 6. more convincing Mark of their Affection and Fide- P. 237. lity to his Interest, they proceeded immediately to give Judgment against Arch-bishop Trolle, and, in the Ambassador's presence, declared that Prelate a Traitor and an Enemy to his Country: And, in the heat of their Zeal, they made a solemn Act or Decree, by which they obliged themselves to approve whatever Gustavus should think fit to do or attempt for the Preservation of his Dignity, granting him full Power to declare War or conclude a Peace with-

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1524.

out calling a Meeting or Convention of the Estates; and resolving that his Enemies shou'd be reputed Enemies to the State and Nation. Thus the Swedes were so charm'd with the Valour and excellent Qualities of their new Monarch, that they thought they could not more effectually secure the Liberty and Happiness of the Subject, than by confirming and enlarging the Prerogative of the Crown: And that cunning Prince, under the specious Title of the Defender of the publick Liberty, was advancing by slow, but sure Steps, to an absolute Authority over the

Kingdom.

He kept the Danish Ambassador at Court some Days after he had received his Audience; and ordered the principal Lords of the Kingdom to treat him by turns at their Houses. Afterwards he invited him to be present at a Review which he took of his Forces, pretending that it was merely an effect of his Complaifance to that Minister, tho' his true Defign was to make him a Witness of the Strength and Numbers of his Troops. He honour'd him with magnificent Presents at his departure; and left no means uneffay'd to gain him, or at least to make him give an advantageous Character of his Power and Grandeur. At last he dismist him, and sent an Envoy along with him to the King of Denmark, with Orders to demand the Liberty of the Administrator's Widow, and of the other Ladies whose Husbands were put to Death by Christiern.

The Ladies were still kept Prisoners in Denmark; and Gustavus knew that he could neither oblige the Swedes, nor raise his own Glory more effectually, than by procuring their Liberty. But these were not the only, nor the most important Instructiors he gave to his Envoy: He consider'd that Christiern had put himself under the Protection of a Prince who was able to put him in possession of the Kingdoms he had lost, especially it he should find

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And therefore he gave secret Orders 'em divided. to his Agent to study the Character of King Frederick, to discover the Designs and the Inclinations of his Council, and to dispose 'em to a firm and lasting Peace, which was equally necessary for both these Monarchs, to fettle their Authority in the begin-

ning of their Reigns.

The Swedish Envoy, at his arrival at the Court of Denmark, deliver'd his Message publickly, demanding the Liberty of the Princels and the other Swedish Ladies: But afterwards, in a private Audience, he complain'd in his Master's Name, of the Injury that Monarch had receiv'd from the King of Denmark, by sending an Ambassador to Sweden, without acquainting him with his Intention, or directing the Embaffy to him. He represented to him, That the Kings, his Predecessors, notwithstanding their Pretentions to the Crown of Sweden, were more careful to observe the common Rules of Decency, even during the late War betwixt the two Kingdoms; and that they were so far from scrupling to acknowledge the Dignity and Authority of the Administrators, that they directed the Letters and Embassies to them, which they fent to the whole Nation. He added, with a great deal of Courage and Resolution, that 'twould be more proper, for a Prince that was not well fix'd upon his Throne, to secure his Interest at home, than to think of invading his Neighbours; and that tho' the King his Master, entertain'd not any ambitious Thoughts of aggrandizing himself, or extending the Limits of his Dominions, his Army and Garrisons were in so good a Condition, that 'twas beyond the Power of all his Enemies to make themselves Masters of one Inch of Swedish Ground. And besides, the cunning Minister took occasion to infinuate, that Gustavus might, if he pleas'd, be acknowledg'd King of Sweden by Christiern himself, who, fixing all his Thoughts and Designs upon the

refign his Pretentions to Sweden, provided Gustavus would enter into a League against the Danes, but he added, that his Master refused absolutely to entertain any Correspondence with his Father's Murderer, and declared that he was his Enemy both as a private Person, and as King of Sweden.

Frederick perceived, by the Courage and Resolution of the Swedish Envoy, and by the Relation of his own Ambassador, that Gustavus's Power was greater than the Archbishop had represented it: He found that 'twould not be convenient, in the present Juncture of Affairs, to renew antient Pretentions that might make his Country the Seat of War. He offered to come to a friendly Agreement with Guflavus, and to enter into an offensive and defensive League with him against Christiern; and for a Pledge and Mark of his Esteem and Friendship he sent back the Administrator's Widow, and the rest of the Swedish Ladies that had been retained as Priioners in Denmark fince the Massacre of Stockbolm, appointing an honourable Convoy to attend them.

Gustavus, with all his Court, went to meet the Widow-Princess, and received her with all the Respect that was due to her Birth and Merit. He gave her an Apartment in the Castle of Stockholm, and advanced her to the Rank she held in the Kingdom during the Life of the Administrator. He endeavoured, with all imaginable Marks of Honour and Respect, to make her bear with less Impatience the Mistortunes of her Family; and put all the rest of the Ladies in possession of their Estates. Most of 'em had Youth enough to recommend'em to second Husbands; but also all the Lords of their Quality were either kill'd in the Massacre of Stockholm, or were already marry'd. No Woman of Quality, whether Maid or Widow, was suffer'd in Sweden,

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to contract an Alliance with a Family less noble than 1724. her own. But the King remov'd that Obstacle, and permitted these Ladies to chuse their Husbands as they pleas'd, tho under that feeming Complaifance he conceal'd a politick Defign; for he manag'd their Inclinations fo dexterously that they were easily perfuaded to chule the principal Officers of his Army. He exhorted these illustrious Widows to prefer Merit before Riches, and to bestow their Fortunes and Affections on Men that had lost part of their Blood in the Service of their Country, rather than on those who deriv'd their Blood from a long Series of noble Ancestors, but had never spent a Drop of it for the Defence and Preservation of the State. By these Alliances he secur'd the greatest Families of the Kingdom, and at the same time found out a cheap way to reward his Creatures, and to enable them to serve him more effectually.

Whatever Joy he express'd at the Arrival of the Administrator's Widow, the inward Satisfaction of his Mind was not answerable to these external Demonstrations. She had two Children, who were mere Infants at the Death of her Husband, Prince Steno, for whose Memory and Family the Swedes had an extraordinary Veneration. Gustavus took the two young Princes under pretext of educating 'em in the Palace, and resolved to provide a Husband for the Princess their Mother, who could not draw any Advantage from that Alliance to the prejudice of his Authority and Government. He propos'd and made her accept of Tureiohanson, the first Senator and great Mareschal of the Kingdom. The King had considered the Character of that Lord, and found him to be such a Person as he design'd for a Husband to the Princess. He was a Man of great Quality, and had a confiderable Estate both in Sweden, and Denmark: He was extreamly proud of these Advantages, but had neither Valour nor Courage to recommend 1524.

Soldiers. His Birth was his only Merit, and confe. the usual quently he cou'd not be suppos'd to have any confit to return derable Interest in a Kingdom where a brave War. rior was infinitely more esteem'd than one that cou'd only boast of his Descent from an illustrious

Family.

Gustavus made it his next care to find out the best Expedients to weaken the Power of the Clergy, whom he suspected and hated for their great Riches, and for the Affection they still retain'd to the D_a . nish Government, which had always maintain'd their Authority. Arch-bishop Trolle was still a zealous Promoter of that Interest: 'T was by his Advice that Frederick caus'd himself to be crown'd King of Swe. den; and to preserve his Credit with that Prince, he entertain'd a secret Correspondence with the Swedish Clergy. The King was resolved to humble a Body of Men, who by their Power and Cabals had always disturb'd the Government, and oppos'd the Authority of the Prince, and were never fatisfied but when they were entrulted with the largest share of the Management of publick Affairs. But he was oblig'd to defer the Execution of that Design for some time, and was too prudent to begin his Reign with disputing the Privileges of an Order, whom the most absolute Prince shou'd never touch but with a tender and wary Hand.

He contented himself at first with managing the Elections for the filling up of vacant Benefices. He procur'd two Persons to be nam'd to the Bishopricks of Stregnez and Westeras, who were entirely dovoted to him, and cou'd not pretend to any Power or Interest in the Kingdom but by his Favour and Protection. Afterwards he sent word to the Canons of Upfal, that confidering the Flight and Condemnation of their Archbishop, 'twould be convenient to chuse a fit Person to succeed him. After the Forms

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of the and Proceedings that are requisite in such Cases, and the usual Citation and Summoning of that Prelate to return to the Kingdom, and vindicate himself from the Crimes that were laid to his Charge, his Contumacy in not appearing was reputed a voluntary Abdication, and the Chapter proceeded to a new Election. By virtue of a Recommendation from the Court, which even then was not much different from an absolute Order, the Choice fell upon one John Magnus, a Native of Sweden, who was learned in scholastick Divinity, very pious, and of an exemplary Life. He was naturally of a fearful Temper, and unfit for the Management of Affairs: He was a Lover of Solitude, and had no interest in the Kingdom: and consequently was neither capable of forming nor profecuting any Defigns against the Government.

> Gustavus concluded, that by these Nominations he had fecur'd the Quiet of the State, which was ulually difturb'd by the Ambition of the Bishops. as he was entertaining himself with the delightful Prospect of an un-interrupted Prosperity, as the glerious reward and fruit of his Labours, and was preparing to make his Subjects sensible of their Happinels under the kind Influences of his Government, he was engag'd by the Regency of Lubeck, in an Affair that put him to a great deal of Charge and Trouble.

> After the Flight and Abdication of King Chriftiern, Severin de Norbi retir'd to the Isle of Gothland, exclaiming against the Danish Rebellion, and protesting that he would revenge his Master's Injuries upon Frederick and Gustavus, whom he branded with the odious Name of Usurpers. His Ships cruiz'd perpetually upon the Baltick Sea, and took teveral confiderable Prizes. The Success of his first Attempts, and the Richness of his Prizes made him extreamly arrogant; and he was so powerfully

1525. charm'd with the tempting prospect of raising his Fortune by so quick and easy a way, that he refolv'd to attack all the Ships that had the Misfor. tune to fall into his Hands, and made the Port of Wishi, the capital City of the Island, a Rendezvous or Retiring-Place for several other Pirates who in-Thus of Admiral of Denfested the Baltick Sea. mark he became a Captain of Pirates, and taking down the Danish Colours from his Ships, affum'd the Quality of Prince of Gothland. He styl'd him. felf the Friend of God, and Enemy of all the World; and boasted with a great deal of Insolence, that he acknowledg'd no other Superiors but God and the Sun.

> The Merchants of Lubeck were possessed of the whole Commerce and Trade of Sweden, in exclufion to all other Nations, by virtue of the Treaty which the Regency concluded with Gustavus's Secretary: And the Magistrates of that City had granted a Right of Partner-ship to the Hanse-Towns of Dantzick, Hamburgh, Rostock, Wismar, and Lunenburgh. But their Ships were fo narrowly watch'd by Norbi, and the rest of the Pirates, that few or none of them escap'd. The Regency of Lubeck, which for the most part was compos'd of the principal Merchants of the City, being deeply concern'd in these Losses, wou'd have affaulted Norbi, and endeavour'd to unkennel the rest of the Corfaires, if they had not been deter'd by the Expenfiveness of the War, and the Uncertainty of the In fo preffing a Difficulty they resolve to have recourse to the celebrated Valour of Gustavus, and to lend one of their principal Magistrates to engage him in the Attempt, under pretext that the Isle of Gothland was an antient Fief or Dependency of the Crown of Sweden. They intrusted the Negotiation of so important an Affair to one Herman, an old Conful of the City, who under the feeming

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After his Arrival at Stockholm, he complimented Gustavus in the Name of his Masters, and congratulated the Glory and Prosperity of his Reign. Then complaining of Norbi's Piracies, he told the King, that the Regency would have sent an Army to Gothland, to extirpate that nest of Pirates, if they had not been certainly inform'd that the Island belong'd to the Crown of Sweden; that all the Inhabitants of the North were surpriz'd, that so potent and victorious a Prince would fuffer such an infamous Crew to chuse a Retreat in his Dominions; that Sweden was in a manner invested by the Ships of those insolent Pirates; that his Majesty's Honour and the Interest of his Subjects oblig'd him to fcour the Seas of these Rovers, who ruin'd the Trade of his Kingdom; and that it wou'd be of great Importance for the security of his Government to make himself Master of an Island which cover'd the greatest part of the Swedish Coasts.

Gustavus was not ignorant of the Pretensions he had to that Island, and of all the Advantages of its Situation with respect to Sweden; but he was loth to engage in a foreign War, and to carry his Army out of the Kingdom in the beginning of his Reign, lest some Disturbance shou'd happen, or Christiern shou'd make a Descent in his absence. Nor was he Master of a sufficient Fund to defray the Charge of so considerable an Expedition, much less to carry on the War, if Norbi shou'd make a longer Defence than he expected, or if the King of Denmark shou'd take his part, and concern himself in the Quarrel. And besides, he was sensible, that the only Reason which made those trading Cities lo desirous to engage him in a War with the Pirates, was, that they might oblige him at his own

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Charge to secure 'em in the Possession of those vall Advantages they enjoy'd by ingrossing the whole Commerce of Sweden.

Having duly weigh'd the Importance of these Rea. fons, he told the Lubeck Ambassador that he was not dispos'd to undertake the Employment of a Knight Arrant, and to rove about the World in queft of Adventures; that his Presence was necessary in his own Kingdom, and that 'twas reasonable his Subjects shou'd enjoy the Sweetness of a Peace which he had procur'd for 'em by the fuccess of his Arms. H: added, that he was not ignorant of his undoubted Right to the Isle of Gothland, but that the Kingof Denmark had also some Pretentions to the same Island, and confequently that the Attempt in which the Regency of Lubeck wou'd engage him wou'd certainly make that Prince his Enemy; and concluded with affuring the Ambaffador, that he wou'd endeavour to expel Norbi and the rest of the Pirates out of the Island as soon as the Difference betwixt him and Frederick cou'd be brought to an amicable Conclusion.

The Lubeck Envoy perceiv'd by this Answer, that the King was diffatisfied that the Merchants of that City should enjoy the whole advantage of the Swedish Commerce, without paying any Customs or Duties; and that he was refolv'd to repay 'em in their own Coin by taking advantage of their present Necessi-And therefore to gain him to a Compliance with the Defires of that Republick, he made the following Proposals: That the Hanse-Towns shou'd furnish him with a Fleet to transport his Forces into the Island; that by the consent of the Regency of Lubeck, the payment of the Sum due to that Republick from Sweden, shou'd be delay'd for five Years; and that in case his Majesty cou'd not make himself Master of the Island, the Regency shou'd bear a share in the Charge of the Expedition. He offer'd also

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hare also that that the Hanse-Towns, affociated with Lubeck, shou'd keep the Sca with a potent Fleet, to intercept any Succours or Relief that might be sent from Denmark; and added, that in case King Frederick shou'd obstinately persist in claiming the Sovereignty of Gothland, the Regency would undertake to negotiate a Match betwixt his Majesty and Dorothy the Princess of Denmark; and that in consideration of the Marriage, her Father shou'd resign all his Pretensions to that Island.

The Ambaffador industriously divulg'd, both at Court and among the People, the advantageous Proposals he had made to the King, that the Swedes might think themselves concern'd in the success of his Negotiation. And besides, he endeavour'd to persuade some of the Senators, by subtle and crafty Infinuations, that if the King should reject the Offers he had made to him, the Hanse-Towns wou'd be obliged to have recourse to the King of Denmark, and to join their Forces with that Prince's Army to drive the Pirates out of the Island. At the same time he gain'd several Merchants who dealt and corresponded with those of Lubeck, and consequently were concern'd, as well as they, in the Prizes that were taken by Norbi. Thus he form'd a Party in the Senate, and among the Inhabitants of Stockholm, who had not yet lost their Right, to discover their Sentiments concerning State-Affairs. The common People were so accustom'd to hear of Gustavus's Victories, that they fancied him to be invincible; and being cunningly wheedl'd by the Ambassador's Emisfaries, they ran to the Gates of the Palace, crying out all the way, that 'twas a Shame for Sweden to suffer the Insolency of those Pirates, who ruin'd the Trade of the Kingdom; that the Sea was fo pelter'd with 'em, that a Boat durst scarce adventure to fail out of the Port, and that they were not atraid to come within the reach of the Guns of the Castle.

And even some of the principal Lords of 1525. Castle. the Kingdom, perceiving that the King was still irresolute, cou'd not forbear telling him, that the Administrator Suanto wou'd never have suffer'd these Pirates to infult the Coasts of the Kingdom.

> Gustavus cou'd not bear a Reproach that seem'd to accuse him of Weakness and Cowardice: He replied, in any angry Tone, that neither his Friends nor his Enemies had ever suspected him of want of Courage; that he would no longer refift their lm. portunities, but that he might venture to forete that the success of that Expedition wou'd not anfwer their Defires and Expectations. Thus he was at last prevail'd with to fign the Treaty, which was also subscrib'd by the Embassador, as Plenipotentiary from the Regency of Lubeck, whither here turn'd to hasten the Departure of the Fleer, according to the Agreement concluded with Gustavus.

> That wife Monarch had establish'd his Authority on such solid Foundations, that he neither dreaded the Murmuring of the People, nor the Diffatisfaction of the Nobility; nor cou'd the united Remonstrances of all his Subjects have engag'd him in that Delign, if he had not been afraid that the Hange-Towns wou'd have enter'd into a Treaty with the Danes. He knew that Norbi was not in a condition to oppose the Force of Sweden, and that he might eafily find an opportunity to crush so feeble an Ene. my; but he was sensible it would be a difficult Task to expel the Danes, if they should take this occasion to make themselves Masters of the Island. In order to the execution of the Defign he had undertaken, he commanded the Troops that wereap pointed for that Expedition to march, without noise, towards the Port of Calmar, which is oppofite to Gothland: And notwithstanding his Unwillingues to undertake a War in the present junc

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ture of Affairs, as foon as he was engag'd in the 1525. Attempt, he began to profecute it with fo much Vigor, that he order'd all the Plate in the Palace to be melted down, to maintain the Charge of the Expedition. He went himself to Calmar to receive the Lubeck Ships, and faw his Troops embark un-

der the Command of Bernard de Milan.

The General landed without opposition at the Head of eight thousand Men, and in less than 15 Days made himself Master of all Gothland, except Wishi, the capital City, and the only fortified Place in the island, which he invested. Norbi, surpriz'd at so unexpected an Attack, and finding himself unable to refift the Power of the King of Sweden, fet up King Frederick's Colours in the highest Place of the Town, and at the same time sent one of his Creatures to that Prince, offering to acknowledge him as Sovereign, if he would affift him with some Troops to oppose the Swedish Invasion.

These Proposals were very welcome to Frederick; for tho' he had not look'd upon Gothland as a dependency of the Crown of Denmark, 'twas his Interest, according to the usual Policy of all Sovereigns, to curb the growing Power of a neighbouring Prince. He was glad of any opportunity to stop the rapid Progress of that young Conqueror, and wou'd have willingly fent Norbi the Affiftance he defir'd; but the Fleet of Lubeck and the rest of the Hanse-Towns kept the Sea, and he was afraid of engaging in a foreign War, at a time when he had reason to fear a domestick Invasion, in order to the Restauration of Christiern, whom the Emperor had solemnly re-

ceiv'd under his Protection.

These Considerations made him chuse rather to try the effect of a Negotiation, than to hazard a Rupture with so potent a Neighbour: And in purfuance of that Design, he sent an Ambassador to Lubeck, to complain of the King of Sweden's In-

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1525. justice, and to desire the Regency to imploy their Interest with that Prince to oblige him to withdray his Forces out of an Island that did not belong to him. Frederick was not ignorant of the League which that Republick had made with Gustavus: But to prevent the ill Consequences of that Treaty, his Ambassador had Orders to represent to the Magifrates of Lubeck, that 'twas their Interest to puta timely stop to the prevailing Power of Sweden; that Gustavus was a daring and courageous Prince, who would infallibly endeavour to make his Conquests as boundless as his Ambition, if his Designs werenot prevented by a scasonable Opposition; that the Sovereignty of the Isle of Gothland was an undoubted Right of the Crown of Denmark; that Norbi was intrusted with the Government of it by Christiern !!. and that fince he was willing to submit to his lawful Sovereign, the King his Mafter could not refuseto protect his own Subjects, and to defend that Island to the utmost of his Power, as a Territory that belong'd to his Crown. He added, that his Majesty would submit his Right to the Judgment of the Hanse-Towns, rather than disturb the Peace of the North; and that he was willing the Island should remain sequester'd in the Hands of the Regency of Lubeck, till the Controversy betwixt him and Gustavus should be decided by a final Sentence.

The Magistrates of that City were easily per suaded to embrace a Proposal, which if it should take Essect, would not only secure 'em from the Pirates, but free 'em from the Obligation of keeping a Fleet at Sea to cover the Swedish Conquests. They were extremely pleas'd with the Sequestration, and resolv'd rather to be at the Charge of maintaining a Garrison in that Island, than to suffer it to fall into the Hands of Gustavus, who might one Day make use of that opportunity to disturb their Trade, and to render himself more absolute in the Baltick Sea.

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Thus the Regency concluded a fecret Treaty with 1525. Frederick's Ambassador, by which they oblig'd themselves to open a free Passage to the Danish Succours. Twas also agreed, that the King of Denmark shou'd send an Ambassador to Gustavus, to complain of his Expedition against the Isle of Gothland; and that his Envoy should be followed by Ambassadors from the Hanse-Towns, who should offer their Mediation, and declare War against either of the two contending Parties that should refuse to come to an Accommodation.

Immediately the Danish Forces were order'd to embark, and enter'd the Port of Wisby without any opposition from the Fleet of Lubeck: and soon after the Ambassador of that Town arriv'd at Stock-bolm, to expostulate with Gustavus in the Name of the King his Master, for besieging a Place in his Dominions without declaring War against him. At the same time the Ambassadors of the Hanse-Towns came to propose a Truce, and to desire an Interview betwixt the two Kings at Malmogen. They offer'd the Mediation of their Masters, and requir'd the Interview in so peremptory a manner, that Gustavus perceiv'd he must either submit to that Expedient, or expect immediately the Declaration of an open War.

Thus fearing to be assaulted by so potent a Confederacy, he was forced to divert the threatning storm by consenting to the Conditions that were proposed to him. To prevent any Suspicion of Treachery, Frederick, who was Master of the Place appointed for the Interview, sent four Senators, and six of the most considerable Lords in Denmark, to remain at Stockholm as Hostages, during the Conference between the two Kings. Gustavus was sensible of the Danger to which he exposed himself; but he was so assaud so irritating the Hanse-Towns, and so desirous to make the Danes themselves ac-

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knowledge his Title to the Crown of Sweden, that he relolved at all Adventures to pursue his intended Journey. He repair'd to Malmogen, accompanied with the great Marshal Tureiohanson, and two o. ther Senators, after he had receiv'd another fafe Conduct from Frederick, and the Security of the Hanse-Towns for the Safety of his Person; tho' it may be doubted whether any Security can be given for a King, when he is in the Dominions of his E. nemies.

The reciprocal Pretentions of the two Crowns to the Isle of Gothland were the Subject of this Con. The matter was debated on both fide with a great deal of Heat; and each party produc'd their respective Titles. Bildius, High Chamberlain to the King of Denmark, and Tureiohanson for Guflavus, urg'd the Claims, and defended the Rights of their Masters: But in the Progress of the Conference the great Marshal betray'd the Cause and Interest of the Crown of Sweden. He cou'd not without a fecret Envy behold the Power and Prosperity of Gustavus; and was unwilling to submit to a Master who not long before was his Equal. had a very confiderable Estate in Denmark, which made him afraid of disobliging that Monarch, who had threaten'd to deprive him of all the Lands he posses'd in his Kingdom, if he shou'd persist too obstinately in the Defence of his Master. Menace stopp'd his Mouth so effectually, that he pretended a Cold and a violent Cough, to excule him from speaking. Gustavus seeing himself betray'd by his treacherous Minister, undertook the Defence of his own Cause, and alledg'd with a great deal of Vigour and Eloquence, that the Isleof Gothland was always reckon'd a part of the Kingdom of Sweden; that the Danes were only admitted into it by virtue of the Treaty of Calmar; that their Kings had no other right to it, during the Uni-

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on of the two Kingdoms, but as they were Sovereigns of Sweden; that 'twas plain and undoubtedly certain, that King Albert mortgag'd the Island to the Knights of the Teutoniok Order, for the Sum of twenty thousand Rose-Nobles, that Queen Marearet impos'd a Tax, which was levy'd only in Sweden, to redeemit; that King Erick her Nephew and Successor retir'd thither after his Abdication, and afterwards delivered it up to the Danes, to the Prejudice of the Crown of Sweden. The Solidity of these Reasons put the Danish Minister to silence; but the Ambassadors of the Hanse-Towns, resolving to keep up the difference, referr'd the Decision of it to the Regency of Lubeck, under pretext of bringing it to a friendly Agreement. They wou'd have also obliged the King of Sweden to withdraw his Troops out of the Island, and propos'd that the City of Lubeck should put a Garrison into Wishi according to the private Treaty they had concluded with the Danish Ambassador. But Gustavus was so far from consenting to either of these Motions, that he protested he would rather break off the Conference and declare War, than fuffer himfelf to be bubbl'd out of his Conquests: And the King of Denmark, who had put a strong Garrison into Wishi, instead of infishing upon the Sequestration, which he had only propos'd to tempt the Lubeckers, to break the Treaty with Gustavus, was casily persuaded to consent, that every thing should remain in the same Posture, in expectation of the Regency's Sentence.

These two Princes gave one another reciprocal Marks of Esteem and Respect, notwithstanding the Differences that reign'd between 'em. They found themselves ingag'd in the same Interest, and enter'd into a League offensive and defensive against the late King Christiern, without mentioning the Treaty of Calmar. They gave each other mutual Assurances

1927. of a fincere Friendship, notwithstanding the Na-

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tural Antipathy betwixt the two Kingdoms. After their last Complements, Guilivus took leave of the King of Denmark, and left Malmogen to return to Sweden. He had not gone far when he met the Lubeck Ambaffador, who engag'd him in the Expe. dition against Gothland. The fight of that Minister put him in mind of the Treachery of the Republick; and he was for transported with Fury at so provoking an Idea, that he stopt the subtle Conful, and ask'd him fiercely what was become of the Treaty, and the magnificent Promifes of his Masters? At the same time he put his Hand to his Poniard, as it he had been going to kill him: But one of the Senators that accompanied him, prevented the Blow, and the Ambaffador made his Escape. Thus Gustavus retir'd out of the Danish Territories, and as he enter'd into his own Dominions, he told those who follow'd him, that he wou'd never go out of 'em again but at the Head of an Army.

Some of the Senators and Officers of the Army, who had the largest share in his Confidence and Favour, took this Occasion to conjure him, that he wou'd no longer delay the Ceremony of his Coronation. To convince him of the Importance and Reafonableness of their Desire, they told him, that 'twas but too probable the Success of his Arms and the Glory of his Victories had procur'd him the Fnvy and Jealoufy of his Neighbours, and perhaps callo the secret Hatred of some great Persons in his own Kingdom; and that if either of 'em cou'd obtain their Defire, he wou'd be less fortunate and happy. They added, that there were several Lords in Sweden who pretended they cou'd hardly look upon him as their Sovereign, because he had not yet receiv'd the Crown; and concluded, that the Ceremony of his Coronation was absolutely necessary for the

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Establishment of his Authority, and the Confirmation of his Title; that neither his foreign nor domestick Enemies might entertain the least Hope of seeing any disadvantageous Alteration in his Fortune.

Gustavus was not ignorant of the Importance and Necessity of that Ceremony in an elective Kingdom: But nothing cou'd shake the Resolution he had taken to put off his Coronation till he had executed those secret designs, without which he thought he cou'd neither fettle his Authority, nor fecure the Happinels of his Reign. 'Tis true, he was acknowledg'd as Sovereign, and the Army was at his Disposal: But he was not Master of a sufficient Fund to carry on a War. The Revenues of the Crown were either alienated or usurp'd, the Impolition of Taxes was reputed tyrannical, the Commons were reduc'd to extreme Poverty, and the Nobility exhausted by a long and expensive War. On the contrary, the Clergy were rich and powerful, especially the Bishops who had seiz'd on the principal Forts, and Part of the Revenues of the Crown. He knew that these Prelates were always very careful to make the Prince take a folemn Oath, on the Day of his Coronation, to preserve and maintain all their Privileges: he was so far, from intending either to take or perform an Oath of that Nature, that he was firmly resolved to abrogate and cancel all those Privileges, which he look'd upon either as forc'd and involuntary Grants, or unjust Usurpations of the Lands and Revenues of the Crown.

After he had, in a very obliging manner, thank'd these Lords for the Zeal they express'd for his Interest, he told 'em, that the Ceremony of his Compation cou'd not be perform'd without a vast Expence; that there were other more pressing Occasions for Money, that were absolutely necessary for the Preservation of the State; that he had receiv'd

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1525. Advice of the daily Increase of Christiern's Forces and Party; that the Emperor seem'd resolv'd to re-establish that Prince in the possession of his former Do. minions; that 'twas uncertain whether the Forces defign'd for that Expedition wou'd invade Sweden or Denmark; that 't was absolutely impossible to op. pole their Descent without an Army by Land, and a Fleet at Sea; that he was wholly destitute of Mo. ney to raise Forces, and make other necessary Preparations; that 'twas well known he had mortgag'dhis own Estate to expel the Danes out of the Kingdom; that he had lately melted down the Flate that belong'd to the Crown to pay the Charge of the Expedition to Gothland, which was thought to be of fo great Importance for the Security and Freedom of Trade and that confidering the extreme Milery of the common People, and the Poverty of the Nobility after fo long a War, 'twas high time to demand a Subfidy of the Clergy, who were actually in Possession of above one half of the Lands and Revenues of the Kingdom, and perhaps made their Court to King Christiern in private, on the Score of their never having contributed to the support of his Enemies. He did not then think fit to give them a clearer Account of his fecret Intentions, but contented himfelf with telling 'em that 'twas the Part, and ought to be the Care of his Friends, and especially of those who had fet him upon the Throne, to furnish him with sufficient Power and Authority to maintain the Honour of the Post to which they had advanc'd him, instead of flattering him with the vain Show of an empty Ceremony.

Afterwards he open'd his Mind more freely to Larz Anderson, the Chancellor, who was a Person of an obscure Birth, but full of Ambition, of a vast and soaring Genius, cunning and eloquent, and bold in Council. He was Master of a very fruitful Invention in contriving Projects and Expedients,

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and his Mind was always full of great Designs. In 1525.

his Youth he enter'd into ecclefiastical Orders, and

the Interest of his Friends join'd to his own Abili-

ties procur'd him the Dignity of Arch-Deacon of

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ents, and the Church of Stregnez. He had also some Prospect of obtaining the Bishoprick, for there were some who voted for him at the Election; but he was so discourag'd by the Rubs he met with in that way to Preferment, that he resolv'd to try his Fortune in another Road, and left the Church for the Court, where his Merit was quickly taken notice of, and procur'd him the Esteem of Gustavus. His Skill in the Laws of the Country, and his Resentment against the Clergy for excluding him from a Bishoprick, were fufficient Qualifications to recommend him to the Favour of that Prince, who wanted a proper Instrument to humble an Order of Men whom he both fear'd and suspected. That wife Monarch having found so fit a Person for the Executing of his Designs, gave him several distinguishing Marks of his Esteem, and of the Confidence he plac'd in him, and advanc'd him to the Dignity of Chancellor. At last perceiving that his Friends urg'd him with so much Earnestness to hasten the Ceremony of his Coronation, he told that Minister that he could not look upon himself as Sovereign of Sweden, follong as the Bishops were Matters of lo many Forts, and retain'd the Possession of those Lands and Revenues which his Predecessors had alienated from the Crown to enrich the fecular and regular Clergy: But at the same time he acknowledg'd that he was afraid the least Attempt upon the Privileges of the Church wou'd occasion new Disorders in the State, and that the Swedes out of their blind Obedience and Respect to their spiritual Guides, wou'd accuse him of Profanencis for challenging his own Property, and imagine him to be guilty of a Crime against Religion for seizing on

1525. those Lands and Treasures, which they believ'd were consecrated to God, tho they serv'd only to maintain the Luxury and Vanity of idle and fedi. tious Persons, who were always ready to sacrifice

the publick Interest to their Ambition.

Ander fon, who was posses'd with the new Doctrine that was propagated by Luther, and perhaps looked upon religious Controversies as mere philosophical Problems, endeavoured, like a politick Courtier, to confirm his Master in a Design, which he perceiv'd was agreeable to him. He told him, that he faw no Reason why he should make the least Scruple to oblige the Clergy to contribute for the Defence of the Kingdom, and even in case of necessity to seize those Lands or Revenues which they posses'd by virtue of Legacies or Donations; that the Church was not confin'd to the Clergy, but included the whole Body of the Faithful; that in the pure and unspotted Infancy of the Church, and in those happy Days when that Name was common to the whole Assembly of Christians, those Riches and Revenues that are at present appropriated to the Clergy were posses'd in common by the People, who bestow'd'em on publick Uses, and especially for the Relief of the Poor; that the Name of Church was afterwards claim'd by the Clergy as their peculiar Privilege, that under the specious Pretext of that Title they might make themselves Masters of those Revenues, of which they were only the Stewards and Distributers; that the Estates and Revenues of the Laity ought to be reputed the Patrimony of the Church as well as those of the Clergy; that the Clergy were the smallest part of the Church, and ought to contribute proportionably for the Security and Prefervation of the Government by which they were protected.

That, however, he acknowledged there was need of tome more specious and plausible Pretexts than the Part I the publ keep the finuation their Bu were as which f Church the only the Aut the Pec that wa a confid der pre equally excessiv take oc to the I Crown

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eed nan he the publick Good, and the Interest of the State, to keep the People from being deluded by the crafty Infinuations of the Priests and Monks, who made it their Business to persuade 'em, that their Estates were as facred as their Profession, and that the Blow which feem'd only to fall upon the Patrimony of the Church, was really aim'd at their Religion: That the only way to prevent the fatal Consequences of the Authority of the Clergy, and the Superstition of the People, was to make use of the Reformation that was fet on toot by Luther, and began to make a considerable Progress in the Kingdom: That under pretext of propagating a Doctrine that was equally opposite to the temporal Power, and the excessive Riches of the Clergy, he might afterwards take occasion to seize upon the Forts that belong'd to the Bishops, and re-unite to the Demesns of the Crown those Lands and Estates that were alienated by the imprudent Zeal of his Predecessors.

That the Pope Leo X. had condemn'd Luther, 'twas well known that famous Doctor had only incurr'd the Indignation of the Court of Rome, by exposing its Corruptions and Abuses. That, after all, the his Opinions might be look'd upon as indifferent Points of Controversy by other Nations, till the Difference shou'd be decided by a definitive Sentence of the Church in a General Council; they were of the highest Importance for the Establishment of his Authority in Sweden, and for the successful

Execution of his Defigns.

That the People, who were already sufficiently prepar'd and prepossessed by the Lutheran Doctors, wou'd be pleas'd to see the Clergy depriv'd of their vast Estates, especially if at the same time care were taken to lessen the Taxes that lay so heavy upon 'em. That if the Genty were put in possession of the Lands that were alienated by their Ancestors, they wou'd never be tempted to oppose a Doctrine that tended

1525.

1525. to enrich their Families. That the greatest part of the regular Clergy were weary of their Confine. ment, notwithstanding the magnificence of their Prisons, and would gladly profess a Religion that fuffer'd 'em to enjoy all the Pleasures and Advantages of Society: That the inferior Clergy would be easily persuaded to shake off the burdensom Yoke of a forc'd Celibacy, and would chearfully embrace for favourable an Opportunity to exchange their scandalous Libertinism for lawful Matrimony. the Bishops would perhaps make use of their Power and Authority to oppose an Alteration in which they were to nearly concern'd; but that there had been great and happy Change in the Face of Affairs fince the Reign of King Canutson, and that they were no longer able to levy War against their Sovereign, That he knew not whether it might not serve to promote, instead of retarding, the Accomplishment of his Designs, if those Prelates should obstinately perfift in the old Religion. That there were but few of that Order in the Kingdom, and that it would be an easy Task to remove or banish them; whereas if they should embrace Lutheranism, they might pretend, by marrying, to erect their Bishopricks into fecular Principalities, and consequently deprive him of the most important Advantage he hop'd to draw from the Establishment of Lutheranism in his Kingdom.

That after all, the Archbishop, John Magnus, was of a timorous and irresolute Temper; that he had neither Relations nor Interest in the Kingdom, and would willingly suffer himself to be deprived of part of his Estate, that he might not be obliged to comply with the prevailing Religion. That the new Bishops of Stregnez and Westeras, whom he had lately preferred to these two rich Benefices, were Persons of mean Extraction, and had too little Credit among the People to presume to oppose the

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Will of their Benefactor. That the Bishops of 1525. Vexio and Aboo were scarce acquainted with the difference betwixt the Roman-Catholicks and the Lutherans: and that he was fure their Curiofity wou'd never prompt 'em to study so intricate a Controversy. That tho' it cou'd not be supposed that such illiterate Prelates wou'd be much concern'd at the Alteration of Religion, they wou'd probably take the alarm at the first attempt that shou'd be made to lessen their Revenue; but that the Irregularity of their Lives had render'd 'em to obnoxious to the public Centure, that they wou'd never dare to provoke the Indignation of their Sovereign, and that they wou'd be eafily prevail'd with to comply with any Regulation that shou'd not disturb 'em in the Enjoyment of their belov'd Pleasures. That there remain'd only the Bishops of Lincoping and Scara, who either would or cou'd oppose his Designs: That 'twas true they were extremely proud of the Dignity of their Function, jealous of their least Privileges, obstinate in their Opinions, always inclin'd to favour the Danish Faction, notwithstanding the dismal Effects of King Christiern's Barbarity; and that they would infallibly endeavour to gain the Esteem and Astection of the People by a stedfast Zeal to the Doctrine of the Church; but as foon as Lutheranism should be establish'd by the Estates, 'twould be an easy matter to make the Resistance of those Prelates pass for a Crime, and to banish 'em out of the Kingdom, with all the most obstinate Defenders of the old Religion. He concluded with representing to the King, that the Founders of Kingdoms and Empires are always oblig'd to struggle with extraordinary Difficulties; but that those very Princes who can hardly establish their Authority by Force, and conquer the Aversion of the People, are afterwards obey'd by Inclination, and look'd upon as the Fathers of their Country.

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The Chancellor had no fooner ended his Discourse but he found that it had all the fuccess he cou'dde. fire; for Gustavus could not resist the prevailing force of those Reasons which were so agreeable to his fecret Defigns, and so exactly suited to the Scheme he had drawn for the Establishment and Security of his Government. He foresaw that the Empe. ror's Interest with the Pope would hinder that Poptit from declaring in his favour; and therefore refolv'd to give the first Blow, and to make him incapable of hurting him, fince he could not exped his Affistance. And fince he perceiv'd that the introducing of Lutheranism would be the most effectual Expedient to ruin the Pope's Authority, his Judgment was easily determin'd to follow the Biass of his Inclination; and he concluded, That he might with. out a Crime embrace an Opinion that was to favourable to the Prerogative of the Crown, which most Sovereigns either do not or will not diftinguish from the Good of the State.

He would have willingly own'd the Doctrine of Luther, if he had not consider'd that the bare changing of his Religion was not only insufficient, for the entire Accomplishment of his Designs, but that fo fudden and preposterous a Change might be attended with dangerous Consequences. He was lenfible, that during the Infancy of an unsettled Government, so important a Change should always be begun by the People; and that the Prince should alterwards feem to embrace the prevailing Religion out of mere Complaisance to his Subjects. Besides, he could not suppose that all the Swedes wou'd be persuaded without Reluctancy to follow their Master's Example, since they were not swayed by the same Motives either of Interest or Inclination. And from thence he concluded, that the Alteration of Religion would not be the Work of one Year, by reason of the great and unavoidable Difficulties which

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which he foresaw would obstruct, or at least retard 1525.

the Execution of that Design.

He knew that there were many Lords in the Kingdom, and even at the Court, that would oppose fuch an Attempt, and forfake his Party and Interest, as foon as he should discover the least Inclination to abolish the antient Religion. But on the other hand, he could not endure to bear the whole Burden of the Government, and to be perpetually harafs'd with all the Trouble and Care that is inseparably annexed to the Management of Affairs of State, while the strongest Forts, the Revenues and Rights of the Crown, and the best Estates in the Kingdom, were securely possest by an Order of Men, who inflead of improving their Power and Riches for the good of the Society of which they were Members, made use of those Advantages to oppose the just Defigns of their Sovereign, and to encourage and affift the Enemies of the Nation. Such Confiderations as these induc'd him to expose himself to all the dangerous and uncertain Events of a civil War, and even to hazard his Person and his Crown rather than to content himself with the enjoyment of a titular Sovereignty: Or, if we may venture upon a Conjecture that feems to be more agreeable to his Character and Circumstances, he was so consident of his own Power, and of the Fidelity and Affection of his Subjects, that he thought it would be an easy Task to re-assume the possession of a Part of those Estates that were alienated in favour of the Clergy, under the specious pretext of reforming the Church, and lecuring the Interest of the State.

Gustavus stood in need of all his Policy to manage so nice a Game: And it must be acknowledg'd, that he asted on this occasion with all the Prudence and Dexterity of a compleat Statesman. He was extreme sareful to conceal his Thoughts concerning the new Opinions of Luther; but at the same time

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1525. he gave fecret Orders to Chancellor Anderson, not only to protect Olaus Petri, and the rest of the Lutheran Doctors, but also to invite others from the Universities of Germany, that Lutheranism might make a quicker and more fuccessful Progress thro'

the several Provinces of the Kingdom.

In the mean time Olaus and the other Lutherans. relying upon the Chancellor's Protection, propa-Dgated their Master's Doctrine with extraordinary Care and Application, explaining and recommending it daily in their Sermons with incredible Zeal Most of the new Doctors were and Diligence. fuperior to the Swedish Clergy, both in Learning and Eloquence; and these Advantages were very confiderably improv'd by a certain Air of Regularity and Strictness in all their Actions, which always attends the first Heats of a Reformation. They were heard with pleasure by the People, who were always extreamly fond of Novelties that put 'em to no Charge, and only tend to the humbling of their Superiors. Nor were they less favourably receiv'd by the Courtiers and principal Nobility, who perceiving the Success that attended the Labours of these Ministers, and that the Opinions which they endeavour'd to introduce seem'd only to threaten the Prelates, began to treat 'em with a more than ordinary Complaifance, and to confider their Arguments with Attention.

While these Doctors were propagating their Opinions from the Pulpit, Gustavus made it his Businels to find out some specious Pretexts to destroy the Power of the Bishops and Clergy. In pursuance of this Defign he began with the inferior Ecclefialticks, issuing out several Declarations against the Curates, and in favour of the People; that the Laity might be oblig'd by Interest to favour and promote these Innovations, and that the People might be accustom'd by degrees to see the Clergy The depriv'd of their Privileges.

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The Swedish Curates had affum'd a Right to impose a kind of Tribute or Tax upon certain publick Sins; and with a great deal of Rigour exacted confiderable Fines from those who took the Diversion of Hunting or Fishing in time of divine Service, abus'd the Women to whom they were contracted before the folemn Celebration of the Sacrament of Marriage. This Privilege was abrogated by one of the King's Declarations, and the Priests were prohibited to exact such Impositions for the future. By another Declaration they were forbidden to ule ecclesiastical Censures against their private Enemies or Creditors. The Bishops and their Officials had extended the Jurisdiction of the Church so far beyond its ordinary Limits, that they claim'd a Right to take cognizance of all Sorts of Affairs that had the least relation to Religion. An Cath made in a Bargain, the Interposition of a Clergyman which was frequently beg'd for that purpose, or the least Dispute that arose about a Contract of Marriage, were reckon'd fusficient Grounds to remove a Cause from the ordinary Courts of Justice; and by thele and fuch like means the Clergy were become extremely powerful and formidable. But Gustavus abrogated that Jurisdiction entirely, infinuating at the same time, that the Hearing and Determination of Suits was inconfiftent with the Function and Duty of a Clergyman: and by the fame Declaration 'twas ordain'd, that the Clergy shou'd be oblig'd to refer the Decision of their Differences to secular Judges, who were authoriz'd to take cognizance of all the Affairs in the Kingdom.

At last he issu'd out a Declaration against the Bishops themselves, by which they were expresly prohibited for the future to enter upon, or pretend any Right to the Estates or Inheritance of the Clergymen within their respective Diocesses, to the prejudice of their lawful Heirs; and by the same Edict

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these Prelates were requir'd to produce before the Senate the Rights and Titles by virtue of which they exacted Fines and Forfeitures. Thus he continu'd to publish Declarations, one after another, according to the progress which Lutheranism made in the Kingdom: and the feveral Steps he made in the carrying on of his fecret Design, excited the Curiofity and Attention of all his Subjects, who began to interpret his Actions according to their feveral Interests or Inclinations: the Lords and Gentlemen, without giving themselves the Trouble to examine the new Doctrine that was preach'd to 'em, were pleas'd to fee the King proceed so vigorously against a Party whom they hated; and even some of the most considerable Persons of the Kingdom began to declare openly for the Lutherans, hoping by these Innovations to recover those Estates which their Ancestors bequeath'd for the Foundation of fo many rich Convents of which the Kingdom was full.

> Nor were these Declarations unwelcome to those among the Commonalty who understood the World, and were in some measure acquainted with the Management of publick Affairs. They cou'd not blame the King for moderating the Power of the Clergy, and abolishing those Extortions that were said to have been invented at the Court of Rome, and cunningly introduc'd under the specious Titles of Indulgences, Tithes, and Alms. But that which added most to their Satisfaction, was, that the King had put a stop to the vexatious and litigious Proceedings of the Bishops Officials, and other Ministers, who oppress'd the Laity with their pretended Corrections

and ecclefiaftical Cenfures.

In the mean time the regular and fecular Clergy look'd upon these Regulations as so many sacrilegious Incroachments upon their Authority: nor cou'd they endure to be thus disturb'd in the possession of their Rights and Privileges. But the King, with-

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out regarding the impotent Resentments of a weak- 1725. en'd Enemy, sent his Troops into Winter-quarters upon their Lands, which none of his Predecessors had ever attempted to do, and even quarter'd his Horse in the Abbies and Monasteries, under pretext that the Peafants were ruin'd by the War, but in effect to keep the Monks in awe by the Presence of his Soldiers. Afterwards he order'd his Officers of Juftice to examine the Title of the Carthufians to the rich Monastry of Griphysholm, which was founded by his Ancestors; and the Monks were oblig'd to prove the Donation or Acquisition of the Landsthey Since they cou'd not produce any legal Title or Charter to entitle 'em to the possession of those Estates, they had recourse to Prescription; alledging, that they ow'd the greatest Part of their Revenues to the Picty of the Lords of Vafa, but had loft their Charters during the Confusion and Diforder of the Civil Wars. But the King over-ruling their Plea, seiz'd on those Lands that belong'd originally to his Family, and expell'd the Monks out of their Convent, under pretext that it was built upon his Estate; tho' perhaps he was glad of this opportunity to satisfy his private Revenge, by punishing those Monks for refusing to admit him into their House when he was persecuted by Christiern. may be probably suppos'd, that he took this way to discover the Inclinations of the People, and at the fame time to excite the Nobility to follow his Example, by refuming the possession of the Lands that were alienated by their Ancestors.

The Lutheran Doctors, to gain the Favour of the principal Noblemen, infinuated to 'em on all Occasions, that they had been too long the Bubbles of the Clergy; that Purgatory had already cost 'em the best part of their Estates; that the Monks had made use of that holy Cheat to wheedle 'em out of those wast Revenues that were spent so luxuriously in the

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Violence of an imaginary Fire; and that supposing there were really such a place as Purgatory, 'twould be ridiculous to imagine, that the Torment cou'd be mitigated by the Prayers or Songs of a few Monks.

At the same time Olaus publish'd a Version of the New Testament into the Swedish Language, which was only a Translation of the German Copy that was written by Luther. Olaus's Disciples took care to recommend this Work in their Sermons, extolling the Value and Necessity of it, and spreading it industriously thro' the whole Kingdom. They concluded, that it would be favourably receiv'd by the People, and especially by the Women, who wou'd be extremely fond of a Book that made 'em Judges of the Points that were controverted by Divines; and that they would rather submit to the Authority of some Passages that were purposely accommodated to the new Doctrines, than give themselves the trouble of enquiring into the Fidelity of the Translation.

The Swedish Bishops perceiv'd that this Work proceeded from the same Hands that had begun to invade their Privileges; and that the Attempt which was made upon their Religion wou'd end in the Ruin of their Dignity. They observ'd in all the Steps that were made by the King, a Series of Projects and Designs, which they neither could nor durst oppose. However since he took care to conceal his inclination to Lutheranism, and continu'd in the external Profession of the Catholick Religion, they were afraid to express their Suspicions of his Sincerity, and resolv'd to dissemble as he did.

In pursuance of this Resolution, they went in a Body to attend his Majesty, and intreated that Olaus and his Followers might be prosecuted as notorious

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Hereticks. The Archbishop of Upsal, who spoke 1525. in the Name of the rest, acquainted the King, that Olaus's Translation was only a Copy of Luther's, which was condemn'd by the Holy See, and by the most celebrated Universities of Europe. Afterwards he represented to him in few Words, and with a great deal of Modesty and Respect, that they could not forbear concluding, that his Majesty's late Declarations were contrived by the Enemies of their Religion, fince they were absolutely inconsistent with the Immunities of the Church, and even with the Privileges of the Nation. And therefore he prayed him, in the Name of the whole Swedish Clergy, torevoke those Edicts; and exhorted him in pathetick and respectful Terms, to vouchsafe his Protection to the establish'd Religion and its Ministers.

The King replyed, that fince the Clergy had seiz'd on the Lands and Revenues of the Crown during the Civil Wars, they could not blame his Officers for making an exact Enquiry into their Ufurpations, nor find fault with him for requiring a Reftitution of what had either been taken from him, or unjustly alienated. As for Olaus, he told 'em with a feeming Indifference, that he would readily fuffer the Law to be executed either upon him or any of his Subjects that should be convicted of Herefy; but that he could not deny him the Justice to hear him before they proceeded to pronounce Sentence against him; adding, that he had always heard an advantageous Character of his Life and Conversation; that the Accusations which were brought against him might proceed from the Envy and Jealouly of his Brethren; and, that 'twas the ulual Custom of Divines to brand all those who differ'd from 'em in Opinion with the odious Name of Hereticks, tho' their Controversies were frequently grounded on frivolous Questions of scholastick Divinity that were not essential to Religion.

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1525.

The Archbishop being equally troubled and furprized to fee that the King looked upon their Controverly with Olaus as a mere infignificant Quarrel betwixt idle and conceited Divines, offered with some Heat to demonstrate before his Majesty and the whole Senate, that Olaus was guilty of several pernicious Errors, without confidering that fuch Witnesses are always the Judges of the Conferences that are held before 'em. The King, who was willing to take this Occasion to accustom his Subjects by his Example to examine religious Controversies, accepted the Archbishop's Proposal; and the Conference was appointed to be held at Upfal.

March. 1526.

The King, attended by the Senate, and followed by all the Court, went thither at the time appointcd: Olaus appear'd in the Assembly with all the Confidence that could be expected in a Man who had received a secret Assurance of his Prince's Protection. The Bishops appointed one Gallus, a famous Divine, to oppose him, pretending, that they would not dishonour their Character by disputing with one who ought to have submitted to their Judgment; tho' perhaps the Sense of their own Weakness was the true Reason that made 'em decline encountring with so learned and eloquent an Adversary.

The King having commanded that the Conference should be put in writing, the two Doctors enter'd into a long Debate concerning Purgatory, Indulgences, Communion under both Kinds, the Celibacy of the Priests, and the temporal Power and Dignity of the Clergy. They could not fo much as agree concerning the Nature of the Proofs that were to be made use of in such Cases: For whereas the Catholick Doctor endeavoured to confirm his Alfertions not only by the Authority of the Holy Scripture, but also by Tradition, and the Testimony of the Fathers and Councils; Olaus pretended, that the Controverly ought to be decided by the Scripart II.

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During the Heat of the Dispute Olaus challenged is Adversary to produce any Passage in the Gospels, Instance in the Practice or Lives of the Apostles, hat gave the Bishops a Right to possess Principalities nd secular Dignities, or to inflict ecclesiastical Cenures upon their private Enemies, and merely for emporal Concerns. In the mean time he received he Applauses of the Courtiers, who are always of he Prince's Religion. Some of the Senators asked fallus, whether 'twas possible that the Scripture hould not contain all the Proofs that were necelary to defend the Faith which he profest? The Catholick Doctor replyed, that he could not give up he Arguments which he drew from Tradition to vindicate the Practice of the Church in Matters of Discipline, without betraying the Cause he had unterraken to defend; but tho' he should confine himelf to the Authority of the Holy Scripture, he. protested that he would never allow his Adversary to make use of so unfaithful a Translation as that which he had lately impos'd upon the Publick.

Olaus was going to reply in vindication of himless and his Work, and would certainly have been puzzled to find any tolerable Excuse for copying his Master's Errors, if the King (fearing less Gallus should prove him guilty of corrupting the Text, that he might accommodate it to his Opinions) had not immediately put an end to the Conference, under pretext of obliging the Archbishop to translate the New Testament, that his Version might be compar'd with that of Olaus. He assured him, that he would read it with pleasure; and to engage him to comply with this Desire, he insisted upon the Usefulness of such a Work at a time when the greatest part of the

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1526. Priests were scarce acquainted with any other Lan guage than that which was spoken by the People and were daily observ'd to mistake the true sense the Scriptures by reason of their Ignorance of the Latin Tongue. And after he had endeavoured to enforce his Arguments with fome private Careffes he dismiss the Prelate with this Assurance, that he would not fuffer any thing to be transacted concerning Religion without his Advice and Approbation.

> These plausible Appearances of Reason, and the obliging Force of Gustavus's Kindness, prevailed a last with the Archbishop to call a Meeting of the Clergy at Stockholm, where the fix Bishops of the Kingdom, and the Persons of the greatest Noted the fecular and regular Clergy, were fummon'd to appear. He endeavour'd to convince 'em of the necessity of publishing a Translation of the New Testament in opposition to that of Olaus. He put 'em in mind of the King's defire, and added, thata chearful Compliance with his Majesty's Pleasure would be very acceptable to him, and keep him from forfaking the Communion of the Church. This Motion was oppos'd by the Bishop of Lincoping with a great deal of Vigour: He entreated 'em to consider, that Christ thought fit to leave the Interpretition of the Scripture to the Bishops and Doctors of his Church, that the ignorant and heedless People might not be engag'd in dangerous and unprofitable Controversies: That, in the present Juncture, 4 Translation of the sacred Text would serve only to advance the Progress which Lutheranism had already begun to make in the Kingdom, by furnishing the People with a specious Pretext to assume the Power of judging and determining Controversies; That 'twas neither the Duty nor the Interest of the Church to submit to an Examination; That he had never approved the Conference at Upfal; that the molt

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Morder, would be to proceed immediately to the excommunication of Olaus and his Followers; That he Bishop of Stregnez, his Diocesan, ought to serve his Person, and either bring him to a Tryal, riend him to Rome; and that such Hereticks ought may to be consuted with Fire and Sword.

But notwithstanding these Remonstrances, the archbishop would not irritate the King by denying just a Request, which he had in some measure romis'd to grant at the Conserence at Upsal. Nor ould he be prevail'd with to alter his Resolution by lithe Arguments of the Bishop of Lincoping, who old in plain Terms before the whole Assembly, hat his excessive Complaisance for the Court would move fatal to the establish'd Religion.

The regular and secular Clergy divided the Work petwixt them, that it might be the sooner compleated. The latter undertook the Translation of he sour Evangelists, the Acts of the Apostles and st. Paul's Epistles: The Epistles of St. Peter, St. John, St. James, and St. Jude, were allotted to he Mendicant Friars; and the Carthusians were appointed to translate the Apocalyps.

In the mean time Olaus, to celebrate the Victory which he pretended to have obtain'd over his Adverage at Upfal, printed an Account of the Conference, which he took care to represent his own Arguments in the most advantageous manner. Not long ster he married publickly, without regarding the Rules of his Profession, to confirm the Doctrine which he preach'd by his own Practice. And so insting an Example was quickly imitated by many of his Brethren, who publickly assumed the Name of Lutherans, as a protection against the Censures of their Superiors on the score of their irregular Mariages. Most of the Lords procur'd some of those Ministers to preach in their Castles; some out of

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mere Curiofity, and a Defire to hear their eloque Discourses, others out of Complaisance to the Kin and perhaps also in order to the obtaining of asha in the Church Lands.

Gustavus was extreamly pleas'd to see the new R ligion make to quick and to fuccessful a Progre he concluded, that he might at last venture to p off the Mask, and to begin the Execution of fecret Designs with seizing on part of those Esta which were posses'd by the Clergy. In pursuance that Resolution, he call'd a Metting of the Senato at Stockholm, upon certain Advices that were brough from time to time by his Order, and industrious spread thro' the Kingdom, that the Emperor w preparing to march at the head of all the Forces the Empire, to put King Christiern in possession the Northern Crowns.

As foon as the Senators were affembled at State holm, he intreated 'em to begin their Deliberation with securing the Kingdom against the Attempts fo formidable an Enemy. These Lords, who fort most part were his Creatures, soon perceiv'd h Meaning; and accommodating their Answer to fecret Intentions, replied, That the People we harassed with the late tedious War; That the Ma chants of Lubeck and the other Hanse-Towns wou foon complete the Ruin of the Kingdom by the Pr vilege they had extorted, to engross the who Trade without paying any Customs; That 'tw impossible to raise Money without opening the Por of the Kingdom to the Merchants of other Nation but that they were oblig'd in Honour and Justice pay the City of Lubeck before they cou'd proces to abolish those Privileges, that were granted infle of Interest for the Money and Troops with who the Regency affished them against the Danes; 4 that it was equally plain, that the Crown of Swed was indifpenfably oblig'd, and at present utter

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he new? Then the King, under pretext of easing the Peoa Progret le of a Burden which they were no longer able ture to p o support, order'd the Chancellor to propose the sion of the opropriating of two Thirds of the Tithes, that ppropriating of two Thirds of the Tithes, that ofe Estat clong'd for the most part to the Bishops and rich ursuance abbots, for the Maintenance and Subsistence of his he Senate proops. At the same time that cunning Minister rebrough numbered, that the superfluous Plate, and even dustrious he useless Bells of the Churches might be sold for peror we the Payment of the Regency of Lubeck, by which Forces means those unhappy Privileges might be abolished, that were equally pernicious to the Prince and to the People.

Gustavus had already established his Power and iberation Authority upon fuch firm and folid Foundations, that the Deliberations of the Senate were in a manner nothing else but a mere empty Ceremony. The Expedient he proposed was approved by all the Senators with a great deal of Submission, and a solemn Act was immediately passed according to these Resolutions; by virtue of which the King appointed Commissioners, who seiz'd upon all the superfluous Plate and Bells that they found in the Churches. and at the same time laid up in publick Magazines the Tithes and Corn that were appointed for the

Subfistence of the Army.

The Bishops and all the Clergy were surprized with fo terrible and unexpected a Blow. They faw the Throne posses'd by a wise and mighty Prince, who was a declar'd Enemy to the Interest and Authority of the Church, and had the Art to difguife his Hatred and Designs against them under the spe-The Archclous pretext of the publick Good. bishop of Upsal represented their Grievances to his Majesty, and acquainted him, that his Officers made such Havock in all the Churches, that they could not

have expected a more barbarous Treatment from the most furious Hereticks or Fanaticks.

The King, who had now begun to discover his secret Intentions, replied in a very imperious manner, That what had been seiz'd by his Order, would be better imployed for the Defence of the Kingdom, than for maintaining the Pride and Luxury of the Clergy. After which he dismiss him, without de-

figning to give him a longer Audience.

Most of the zealous Catholicks in the Kingdom were extremely exasperated by the King's Answer, and the violent Proceedings of his Officers. Priests, but especially the Monks, exclaim'd against him with all the Extravagance of Spite and Fury; and to render him odious to the People, dispers'd feditious and scurillous Libels, in which they branded him with the hateful Title of an Excommunicated Heretick; and even some were so bold as to propose the making void of his Election. Rabble, who were always ready to take fire upon the least pretext of Religion, espoused the Quarrel of the Clergy with a great deal of Heat and Fury: The Peasants, especially, could not endure to part with their Bells, and Silver Crosses, which were oftentimes the principal Object of their Devotion. These wild and savage People were the fittest Tools to execute the Resentments of the Priests, who perfuaded them, that all the Steps the King had made were the fatal Advances of an unlimited and tyrannical Power, and would infallibly end in the utter subversion of their Religion and Liberty. Some of them took up Arms, purfu'd the King's Officers, and having recovered their Bells, brought them back to their Villages in a kind of Triumph.

About this time of the Year there was a great Fair held at *Upfal*, with an extraordinary Concourse of People from all the Provinces. This was a sort of Convention of the Estates of the Peasants, who

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ually took this Occasion to deliberate concerning 1526. eir Trade, the Affairs and Interest of each Proince, and the Differences that arose from time to me about the Preservation of their Liberty and rivileges. The Male-contents, refolving to make he best use of so savourable an Opportunity, made their Business to engage the leading Persons asong the Peasants to demand the Revocation of he late Edict concerning the Tythes and Church-Bells.

Twas one of Gustavus's Maxims, that a Prince an never bestow his Money better than upon the Intertainment of a sufficient Number of cunning Inormers, who pry into every Corner, and are equally areful to conceal their own Designs, and to discover hose of others. By these Spies, whom he kept confantly in Pay, he was inform'd, that the Priests and Monks had engag'd the Peafants to take up Arms at Upfal-Fair for the Recovery of their Bells; and herefore to prevent the impending Danger, he march'd thither at the Head of a Body of Horse.

The Mutineers were surpriz'd at his unexpected Arrival; they cou'd not bear the imperious Fierceness of his Words and Looks, and the boldest of em began to dread the Effects of his Indignation. There was a certain Air of Grandeur and Authority that accompanied all his Actions; and on this occafion he spoke like a Prince that had a Right to command, and both wou'd and cou'd maintain his Prerogative. He ask'd 'em, in a fierce and disdainful Tone, who had intrusted 'em with the Care of the Government, by what Authority they pretended to censure the Decrees of the Senate, and whether they had forgotten that the Bishops and the Clergy were more dangerous and implacable Enemies to their Country, than the very Danes? Then to gain'em by the most winning Arguments, and to convince 'em, that their own Interest oblig'd 'em to comply with

his defire; He affur'd them, that he only aim'da their Ease and Advantage in approving the late De cree of the Senate concerning the Tithes; that fine 'twas absolutely necessary in the present Junctures pay the Sum that was owing to the Regency of La beck, he chose rather to force the Clergy to some rea fonable Contribution, than to overwhelm and oppress the People with new Taxes and Impositions Thus having fram'd his Discourse to work upon the strongest and even the most opposite Passions, he concluded, that either Fear or Interest wou'd oblige 'em to submit to his Will. But instead of returning a respectful Answer, the seditious Rabble began to cry out with a great deal of Fury and Vehemence That they wou'd never fuffer their Religion to be alter'd, nor their Bells and Church Plate to betaken away: And the King was fo incens'd at their Bold. ness and Insolency, that he gave Orders to his Soldiers to fire upon the Mutineers, who observing that the Troopers were just ready to give fire, fell upon their Knees and begg'd his Majesty's Pardon. Most of the Ringleaders, and principal Authors of the Tumult were fecur'd, while the rest hid themselves in Thus all that the Croud, or escap'd in the dark. vast Multitude of People was dispersed in an instant; and the Peasants returned home with an awful Idea of a Prince, who was fo well acquainted with the Art of Governing, and cou'd so easily extort Obedience from the boldest Rebels.

This mutinous Affembly was no fooner dispers'd by his Presence, but a new Plot was laid to dethrone him. A certain Groom, call'd Hans, of the Parish of Biorchastrat in Westmania, form'd a Design infinitely above the Meanness of his Condition. His Ambition aspiring to no less than a Crown, made him personate the eldest Son of the deceas'd Administrator, tho' that young Prince died a Year before; for the disaffected Party persuaded him, that the

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at the eople, People, who were generally incens'd against Gustar 1526. ous, wou'd choose rather to advance him to the Throne, than fuffer any Change in the establish'd

Religion. The Impostor was a handsom and daring Person; he spoke with a great deal of Freedom and Ease, and had a nobler and more graceful Mien than was suitable to his Birth and Education. He travell'd thro' the Province of Dalecarlia under the Name of Nils Steno, appearing only in the remotest places that had least Communication with the Court. He sem'd to be always upon his Guard, never stay'd long in one place, and when he was at any time prevail'd with to shew himself to the People, he affected a serious and reserv'd Behaviour, and appear'd among 'em with a great deal of feeming Caution. He gave out, that Gustavus cou'd not hide the Fury that sparkl'd in his Eyes when he beheld the Person whose Right he had usurp'd; that he cou'd not bear the secret Reproaches of his Conscience for the Injury he had done to the Son of his Benefactor; that in the transports of his Rage, that violent Prince had several times laid his Hand upon his Poniard with a defign to kill him; and that the Princess, his Mother, fearing that the Usurper of her Husband's Power, might at last prove the Murderer of her Son, had advis'd him to retire from a place where his Life was in perpetual danger.

Then wou'd he ask the People, in the most moving and pathetick Terms, whether such a barbarous and inhuman Treatment was a fuitable Recompence for the many and important Offices the whole Nation had receiv'd from his Father; and whether they cou'd endure to see an Usurper butcher the Son of a Prince who had so often expos'd, and at last lost his Life in the Defence of their Privileges? And so well had this cunning Impostor learn'd the Art of counterfeiting the most tender Passions, that

as often as the Name of Steno was mention'd he burst forth into Tears.

"Twas his usual Custom to fall upon his Knees, and conjure the Peasants to pray to God for the Soul of the Prince his Father, and to say each of'em a Pater-Noster in his Behalf, while they were suffer'd to believe that there was a Purgatory. Then wou'd he exclaim against the present Government, and call Gustavus an Usurper, and an Heretick, that had renounc'd the Faith of his Ancestors. And to render his pretended Persecutor more odious to a People that were superstitiously fond of their antient Customs, he accus'd him of a dangerous and insupportable Vanity, in endeavouring to distinguish himself from his Predecessors by the Magnificence of his Apparel; and affur'd 'em, that he wou'd at last oblige 'em to change their Habit as well as their Religion.

'Tis thought that this Design was contriv'd by the Bishop of Lincoping, and other leading Persons among the Clergy, who hop'd by this means tooc. casion a Revolt in some of the Provinces, and perhaps a Revolution in the State. At least, 'tis certain, that both that Prelate and the rest of his Party encourag'd the Impostor, by seeming to believe that he was really the Administrator's Son; and by the fecret Protection of the Clergy and other dilatfected Persons, the Plot was carry'd on with 10 much Vigor and Success, that in a little time the pretended Frince was at the Head of an Army, or rather a tumultuous Rabble of Peasants and indebted Persons, who by reason of the desperate Condition of their Fortune, are always ready to embrace the first Opportunity of a Change.

In the mean time Gustavus knew not whether he shou'd march against him, or expect the Event of this new Stratagem of his Enemies; for he concluded, that the Rabble wou'd be soon undeceiv'd,

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and return to their own Habitations. He continu'd for some time irresolute, wavering betwixt Fear wo and Shame: his Courage prompted him to flight fo contemptible an Adversary; but at the same time his Prudence suggested to him, that the smallest Danger ought not to be neglected; and he was ev'n afraid of strengthning the Rebellion by shewing too visible a Concern about it. At last he resolv'd to make the Administrator's Widow write to the Dalecarlians; and that Princess, in obedience to his Desire, affur'd 'em, by a Letter, that her Son died above a Year ago; that all the Inhabitants of Stockholm, who were present at his Funeral, were Witnesses of his Death; and that she had but one young Child living, whom the King brought up with as much Care as if he was his own Son.

This Letter produc'd the defir'd Effect; for as soon as the Peasants were undeceiv'd, they for look their imaginary Prince; who fearing that they wou'd deliver him up to the King, fled to Norway, where he was received and entertained as Prince of Sweden by the Archbishop of Drontbeim, upon the Recommendation of the Swedish Bishops to that Prelate. levyed Forces in Norway by the Archbishop's Intereft; and was both so cunning and fortunate, as to perluade a Lady of the highest Quality in that Country, that he was the rightful Heir of the Crown of Sweden, and that it might one day be in his Power to make her Daughter a Queen. The ambitious Lady, dazzled with the prospect of a Crown, made her Tenants and Vassals take up Arms in his Defence, furnish'd him with considerable Sums to begin the War, and presented him with a Gold Chain of great Value, as a Mark of her Kindness, and a Pledge of the Alliance she intended to contract with him.

The King having receiv'd Advice, that the Impostor was preparing to return to Sweden, order'd a Body of Horse to march towards the Frontiers;

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1726. and at the same time wrote to the King of Denmark, expostulating with him for protecting so notorious a Chear, protesting, that he wou'd feek him out at the head of his Army, in the remotest parts of Norway, if he were not speedily expell'd out of that

Kingdom.

That wife and politic Prince, cou'd not with. out a fecret Jealoufy look upon the Union of the Swedes, and the Prosperity of Gustavus's Reign, and wou'd have been glad to have feen Sweden embroil'd in a civil War by the counterfeit Steno. But fearing to irritate so potent an Enemy, when he expected every moment to hear of Christiern's Landing, he sent Orders to Hans to depart immediately out of his Dominions; and that unhappy Wretch fled from Norway to Rostoc, a free and imperial City in Mecklenburg upon the Baltick. As foon as Gustavus was inform'd of the place of his Retreat, he fent to the Magistrates of that City to require 'em to deliver up the Impostor, and threaten'd to stop all their Ships that thou'd be found in the Ports of his Kingdom, if they refus'd to comply with so just a defire. The Magistrates of Rostoc, who were neither able nor willing to protect such an abandon'd Wretch, order'd his Head to be cut off; by which Execution they put an End to Gustavus's Fears, and broke all the Measures of his disaffected Subjects.

Tho' the Clergy had not appear'd openly in this Revolt, the King was fully convinc'd that they would have infallibly declar'd for the Impostor, if his Attempt had been attended with Success. He knew that they were his most dangerous Enemies, and that nothing but the Fear of his Power restrain'd 'em from breaking out into a Rebellion. Bishops exhorted the Priests and the inferior Clergy to keep the People steddy in the profession of their antient Religion; for they were sensible that they wou'd be depriv'd of the best part of their Revenues, the Ki

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The Clergy ftheir t they Revenues, nues, as soon as Lutheranism shou'd be establish'd in the Kingdom. Thus the whole Body of the Clergy was put into a Ferment by the powerful Motives of Religion and Interest. The Monks, and especially the begging Friars, ran thro' all the Provinces under pretext of imploring the charitable Affiftance of the People for their subsistence, but in effect to foment the Discontents of those who murmur'd against the Government. They made fure of their Friends, influenc'd their superstitious Devotees, form'd Cabals in every Village, and spoke so disrespectfully of their Sovereign, as if their pretended Zeal for the Defence of the catholick Faith cou'd have justified such a Spirit of Rebellion.

The King fearing that the Priests and Monks might at last occasion some dangerous Revolt, refoly'd to gain the Bishops, and especially the Heads and Superiors of the religious Houses, and to remove fuch as wou'd not comply with his Defires. Most of the Superiors of the mendicant Friars were Germans and Foreigners, who were fent by their General from the principal Universities of Germany to visit and govern the Swedish Monasteries. King issu'd out a Declaration, forbidding these Foreigners to meddle with the Government of any Monasteries in this Kingdom, under pretext, that being born Subjects to the Emperor, and other Princes who were Enemies to his Crown and Authonity, they incited the Monks and even the People to rebellious Practices. So that they were oblig'd immediately to leave the Kingdom; and the King took care to supply the vacant Places with such Monks as were intirely devoted to his Interest.

Not long after the King publish'd another Declaration, to restrain the Immoderate Liberty which the Monks had affum'd to make Visits, and to travel abroad from their Convents. By this Edict they were only permitted to go twice a year out of their

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1526. Monasteries, and to stay but a Fortnight at each time, to receive the Bounty and Alms of the People, Then the King apply'd himself to the Bishops of Stregnez and Westeras, who were his Creatures, and affur'd 'em, that in all his Proceedings he had no other Aim than to see the Word of God preach'd and observ'd in his Kingdom, and to banish all the Superflitions and Corruptions that were introduc'd by those who were acted by a worldly Interest. He defir'd 'em to surrrender the Forts and Castles that were in their possession, promising to make'em a suitable and advantageous Return, and to advance their Families to the highest Dignities in the King-These Demonstrations of his Affection, and the Confidence he plac'd in 'em, had so great an Influence upon'em, that they promis'd an absolute Sabmission to his Will, imagining that their Complaifance cou'd not be reputed criminal, so long as they abstain'd from the Profession of those Doctrines which they look'd upon as erroneous, especially since they cou'd not oppose the King's Designs without exposing themselves to his Indignation. But the Archbishop of Upsal resisted the Temptation with a Resolution that cou'd neither be shaken by Promises nor Threats. His temporal Estate was seiz'd, his Family persecuted, and his Person for sometime confin'd in a Convent at Stockholm, under pretext that he had a hand in the Impostor's Rebellion. In a word, none of these Severities were omitted, that are usually inflicted by Princes when they wou'dreclaim obstinate Subjects that will not be reduc'd by gentler Methods. But that Prelate perfifting in his former Resolution, answer'd those who perfuaded him to submit to the King's Will, thathe never aspir'd to the Dignity which he posses'd, that the King himself contributed to his Advancement, and that he cou'd not imagine that his Majesty wou'd desire him to express his Gratitude by betraying his Dignity

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Dignity and Function. The King finding him in- 1527. flexible, found out an honourable Way to get rid of him, by conferring upon him the Character of an Ambassador. Under that specious pretext he was order'd forthwith to set out for Poland, and the King fent him word, that he shou'd receive his Dispatches at Dantzick. The Archbishop apprehended presently the Design of this Commission, and was sensible that his pretended Embassy was a real Banishment. However he obeyed the King's Orders with a great deal of Submission, and went to Dantzick with his Brother Olaus Magnus, where he stayed some time expecting his Dispatches. But finding that Gustavus took no notice of him, and receiving daily informations of the Progress which Lutheranism made in the Kingdom, he went to Rome to implore the Pope's Affistance, and to acquaint his Holiness with the Danger that threatned the Catholick Religion in Sweden, under to politick and to mighty a Prince.

But the present Circumstances of the Pope's Affairs would not suffer him to engage himself in new Troubles, by endeavouring to redress the Grievances of the Swedish Clergy. His immoderate Ambition to aggrandize his Family, had made him enter the Year before into a League with Francis the first King of France, and the States of Venice, Florence, and Switzerland, against the Emperor Charles the Fifth. The Defign of the Confederacy was to procure the Liberty of the Children of France, who were kept as Hostages in Spain, after the King's Return, to establish the Holy See in the Possession of the Kingdom of Naples, to maintain Sforza in the Dukedom of Milan, to defend the Liberty of Italy, and to oppose the Power of the Emperor, who had made himself formidable to all Europe since the

Battle of Pavia.

1527.

That Prince rais'd a bloody War against the Pope, whom he look'd upon as the Author of the League, which vex'd the Pope more than the War it felf; and he follicited the Cardinals to call a general Council, for the Good of the Church, which he pretended was extremely corrupted both in its Head and Mem. bers, and flood in need of a thorow Reformation. Clement cou'd not endure the mentioning of a Pro. ject of that Nature; for he was afraid that the Council wou'd not only regulate the papal Power, but enter in to some Inquiries that might be prejudicial to his Person and Dignity. He was always reputed the natural Son of Julian de Medicis, till Pope Leo X. who was of the same Family, declar'd him legitimate, upon the Information of his Mother's Brother, and of certain Monks who depos'd, That there was a Promise of Marriage, tho' such an Evidence was somewhat suspicious in so nice an Af-'Tis true there was no positive Law to exclude Bastards from the Pontificate; but 'twas generally believed, that so great a Blemish rendered a Man incapable of possessing to eminent and facred a Dignity. And therefore the Pope might justly fear, that the Emperor wou'd infift upon it in a Council, and add his Authority to so specious a pretext of Justice and Religion. Besides, he knew that the Emperor had a note in his Hands, which he had given to Cardinal Colonna in the Conclave, to purchase his Vote. Thus he saw himself in danger of undergoing the Fate of his Predecessor Balthazar Cossa, who during his Pontificate assum'd the Name of John the twenty third, especially fince Pope Julian the Second had iffu'd out a severe Bull, difanulling and making void all fimoniacal Elections, and putting of it out of the power of the Cardinals, by a posterior Consent, to make 'em valid.

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But Charles the Fifth did not so much aim at the 1527.

Pope's Person, as at the Principalities that were annex'd to his Dignity. His Design in solliciting so earnestly for a Council, was only to raise up new Enemies against Clement, and to make him depend upon his Pleasure. He would fain have made himself Master of the Territories of the Church, which lay so convenient for him in the present Juncture of the War, for the Communication of the Milanese with the Kingdom of Naples; and the League which the Pope had lately made with his Enemies surnished him with a plausible pretext to seize on 'em.

He order'd his Army to march into the Pope's Territories. His Troops befieg'd and took Rome by Storm, where they committed such Barbarities as could scarce have been expected from Infidels. The Massacre of the Inhabitants, and the plundering of their Houses lasted several days, during which the Virgins were ravish'd in their Mother's Arms, and even at the Feet of the Altars: The Monuments of the Apostles, and the Reliques of the Saints were profuned by the infolent Avarice of the Soldiers; and the Cardinals and Prelates of the Court of Rome were thrown into horrible Dungeons, where they were perpetually alarm'd with the fear of an ignominious Death to make them deliver up the Treasures of the Church. The Pope himself was arrested and imprison'd in the Castle of St. Angelo by the Emperor's Officers; and that Prince, who affected the Title of Catholick, design'd to send him to Spain, as he had done Francis the First, that he might almost at the same time triumph over the two greatest Potentates in Europe.

The News of the Pope's Imprisonment, and of the War in which he was engag'd with the Emperor, were very agreeable to the King of Sweden. He resolv'd to make use of the Example and Opportunity with which the present Juncture of Af-

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tal blow to the Authority of the Swedish Bishops. the Wars abroad secur'd him from the Attempts of a foreign Enemy; and his Power was so great and so well establish'd at home, that he had no reason to fear any intestine Commotions. He had a considerable Body of standing Forces, that render'd him equally formidable to his Enemies and his Subjects: Most of his Officers were either Foreigners or Lutherans, all inseparably united to his Fortune and Interest: The Senate was compos'd of his Creatures, and the Danes were become his Allies.

Thus while all Europe either dreaded his Power, or look'd upon his Grandeur with Veneration and Respect, he form'd a Design to deprive the Bishops of all the Forts and Castles that were in their possession, and at the same time to make an exact Enquiry after all the Estates which the secular and regular Clergy had either purchas'd or usurp'd since the Edict that was publish'd by King Canutson. But in the first place he resolved to make the Estates of the Kingdom confirm and ratify his Declarations, and the Decree of the Senate concerning the Tithes.

In pursuance of this Resolution he call'd a Meeting of the Estates at Westeras, and employ'd all his Interest and Authority in the Provinces to influence the Elections of the Deputies. He gave secret Orders to a certain number of his Officers to repair to Westeras under pretext of solliciting the payment of their Troops; and afterwards went thither in Person, attended by all the Senators, and sollowed by a Crowd of Courtiers, whose presence display'd his Grandeur, and at the same time serv'd to maintain it.

He began to discover his Intentions at an Entertainment to which he invited the Bishops, Senators, Deputies of Provinces, and all the Members of the Estates. The Officers of his Houshold alter'd the usual O Places v the Bish and the who we Clergy.

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usual Order of the Seats at Table: For the chief 1527. places were given to the temporal Senators, tho' the Bishops claim'd that Honour by Prescription; and the same Precedency was given to the Gentry, who were plac'd above the Deputies of the inferior This Alteration was one of the Stratagems which Gustavus contriv'd to create a Difference betwixt the Senators and the Bishops, and to make the Gentry approve his Design to humble the Clergy.

As foon as the Bishops and the Deputies of the Clergy rose from the Table, they retir'd immediately out of the Castle, and shut themselves up in St. Giles's Church, where, seeing there were no Witnesses to betray 'em, they began to give a loose to their Resentments, and to consider what might be the reason that prompted the King to put such a

publick Affront upon 'em.

The Bishop of Lincoping, who presided in the Assembly as first Suffragan to the Archbishop of Upsal, spoke to this Effect: That 'twould be needless to urge any other Arguments than their own Observation and Experience to convince 'em, that the King never did any publick Action without some lecret Design: That they ought to look upon the late Affront he had put upon 'em as the tore-runner of more terrible Persecutions: That his Majesty's Declaration, the Decrees of the Senate, the violent Proceedings of the King's Officers, his Power and his Armies, were so many fatal Signals of an approaching Storm that threaten'd 'em with the lols of their Liberty and the best part of their Estates: That under the specious Title of the Detender of his Country, that ambitious Prince usurp'd an absolute Authority without regarding the Laws of the Kingdom: That he design'd to seize upon their Forts and Castles, and wou'd afterwards deprive 'em of the share they had so long enjoy'd in the the Go+ vernment;

1527. vernment; and that these arbitrary and illegal Pro. ceedings would at last terminate in the total Sub. version of the establish'd Religion, if those who were like to be the greatest Sufferers by such a Revolution did not prevent the impending Blow by a

vigorous and seasonable Resistance.

The Bishop of Stregnez, who was gain'd by the Court, reply'd, that they could not indeed be too zealous for the Preservation of Religion, nor too vigilant in opposing its Enemies: But withal heinfinuated, that they ought not by an unnecessary and unseasonable Zeal to provoke a great and potent Prince, who in all other respects deserved so well of the Nation. He added, that he thought the Clergy should contribute part of their Revenues for thede. fence of the Kingdom, and that, for his part, he was willing to furrender his Castle to a Monarch who was better able to defend it against the Ene. mies of his Country than a Clergyman could pretend to be.

The Bishop of Lincoping was too nearly concern'd in that Motion, and of too warm and zealous a Temper, to hear a Discourse of that nature without Indignation. He ask'd the Bishop of Stregnez, in an angry Tone, whether he thought he had the same right to dispose of the Revenues of his Church, as of his patrimonial Estate, and that to a heretical Prince, or at least an Encourager of Hereticks? He added, that fuch a Proposal would have sounded better in the Mouth of a flattering Politician; and at last told him in plain Terms, that he spoke more like a Courtier than a Bishop. Then he endeavoured to folten the offenfive Harinness of some Expressions which the Heat of his Passion and Zeal had drawn from him. He conjur'd him to adhere to the common Interest of his Brethren, and to contribute his Affistance for the preservation of their Rights and Dignities. He exhorted the whole Assembly to

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imitate their Archbishop, who had generously withstood both the Caresses and Threats of the Court.

He added, that on such occasions they ought to remember their Consecration Oath, by which they
were oblig'd to venture their Lives in the defence
of their Religion, and of the Rights and Privileges
of their Churches: In a word, he omitted nothing
that might serve to inspire them with a Zeal becoming their Function, and to convince them, that
the severest Punishment which could be inflicted upon them for a true apostolical Constancy would be
more glorious to them than the Favour and Honours
of the Court.

This pathetick Exhortation made so great an Impression upon the rest of the Bishops, and the Deputies of the Clergy, that they refolv'd unanimoufly to defend and maintain the Privileges of the Church to the utmost of their Power, against all Oppofers. The Bishops of Stregnez and Westeras, as much devoted as they were to the Interests of the Court, durst not oppose a Resolution that seem'd to proceed from fo generous a Zeal; and perhaps they were glad to see their Brethren undertake the defence of their Dignities at their own Peril. Thus the fix Bishops of the Kingdom took a solemn Oath to fland by and affift each other in the defence of the Rights and Privileges of the Church against all the Attempts the King should make to violate or abridge them. Then they subscrib'd a Bond or Engagement to the same effect, which, after all the rest of the Assembly had also sign'd it, they hid in one of the Tombs in the Church, left it should fall into the King's Hands,

After the Bishop of Lincoping had engag'd the rest of the Prelates, and the Representatives of the Clergy, he endeavour'd to procure the Favour and Assistance of some of the most considerable Persons among the Laity. In pursuance of that

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Design he secur'd the Protection of the Great Mar. shal Tureiohanson, whose Birth and Dignity gave him the next Rank to the King, and would have ren. der'd him in all respects the greatest Subject in the Kingdom, if these Advantages had not been obscur'd by his want of Merit and excessive Vanity. The illustrious Nobility of his Ancestors was the perpetual subject of his Discourse; and tho' he had neither Courage nor Valour, he thought his Birth and Qua. lity sufficient to supply all his Defects, and to en title him to the Esteem and Respect of all Mankind The Bishop of Lincoping's Address in the Name of the Swedish Clergy flatter'd his Pride and Ambition; he look'd upon that Prelate's Request as a particular Favour, and was so over-joy'd to see himself courted by so potent a Faction, that he promis'd to maintain the establish'd Religion, and to support the Honour and Interest of the Clergy. But it feems the Bishop was unwilling to depend intirely upon the Great Marshal's Protection; for by his secret Intrigues he obtain'd the same Assurances from fome Lords of West-Gothland, and several Deputies of the Peasants who combin'd together to oppole the Progress of the Lutherans.

The next day the Estates met, and the Chancellor open'd the Assembly with a pathetick Discousse concerning the present Juncture of Assairs, and the pressing Exigencies of the State. He acquainted 'em, in his Majesty's Name, that there was no establish'd Fund for the Payment of the Army; that most of the Frontier Places were not sufficiently fortify'd; that there were sew Ships in the Ports; and that the Arsenals were very ill furnish'd. He endeavoured to alarm 'em with an exaggerated Account of King Christiern's Preparations; and put 'em in mind of all the Barbarities which that Prince committed in the Kingdom. He proceeded to inspire 'em with all the most impetuous Motions of Revenge and Indignation

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rt II. against their late inhuman Oppressor, by a lively 1527. t Marand pathetick Description of the miserable State we him to which Sweden was reduc'd under his tyrannical e ren-Dominion. He represented all his Cruelties in the in the most hideous Colours, and with all the aggravating bicur'd Circumstances that might serve to heighten their The Resentment: He number'd up all the Robberies, perpe-Plundering and Sacking of Cities, Affaffinations, neither publick Massacres, Burnings and Rapes with which d Qua. the Kingdom was fill'd in those unhappy Days; and to en enlarg'd the frightful Catalogue with an Account inkind of all the other enormous Barbarities that were eiame of ther committed or authoriz'd by a Prince who nembitiver gave himself the trouble to seek for any Pretext a paror pretended Reason of State to excuse or cover his him-Crimes. He affur'd 'em, that they cou'd not employ e protheir time better than in making some serious Reand to Acctions on the deplorable State of their Country, y. But when they saw their Estates bestow'd on their Opntirely pressors, and when their Persons were expos'd as a his fe-Prey to the implacable Fury of their inveterate Enes from mies, or to the more inhuman and insupportable eputies Barbarity of their treacherous Country-men. ppole

He added, that when their Ruin was almost entirely completed, and when they could not without an extravagant Presumption entertain the least hope of Relief, 'twas the King alone who form'd the generous Defign of preventing their utter Destruction. That he had brav'd a thousand Dangers in carrying on so glorious an Attempt, and had both ventur'd his Life, and spent his Estate in the defence of his Country. That he had at last triumph'd over all his and their Enemies; and that they owed themselves and all they could call their own to his Valour and Conduct. That their late merciles and irreconcilable Tyrant was preparing to make a Descent with all the Forces of the Emperor, and would quickly be in a Condition to re-act his former Barbarities, it

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1527. they would fuffer themselves to be surpriz'd, before they had put the Kingdom in a posture of Defence. That the Crown was so impoverish'd by the Avarice and Usurpations of the Clergy, that the King's Revenues were scarce sufficient to maintain the Charge of the Civil Lift. That the Nobility and Gentry were ruin'd by the imprudent Bounty of their An. cestors. That the Riches and Possessions of the Clergy exceeded the Revenues of the Crown, and of all the other Estates in the Kingdom. That the Bishops had always made Religion a Cloak for their Avarice, and a mere Pretext for establishing their Grandeur and Authority. That by fraudulent and indirect Methods they had made themselves Master of the richest Fiess of the Crown, and the principal Forts in the Kingdom. That by degrees, growing richer and more potent than their Sovereigns, they had frequently revolted against 'em. That their Ambition had been the fatal Source of all the civil and foreign Wars which had harrass'd the Kingdom by turns for above 100 Years. That the declar'd Enemy of the Swedish Nation had been often invited into the Kingdom by those seditious Prelates; and that they never scrupled to commit the blackest Treason to compass their pernicious Designs. That the Senate confidering the pressing Exigencies of the State, and knowing that the excessive Power and Riches of the Bishops were inconsistent with the Peace of the Kingdom, had wifely ordain'd that two Thirds of the Tithes should be apply'd to the Maintenance and Subfistence of the Army.

That 'twas his Majesty's desire, that his late Declarations, and the Decree of the Senate, which were absolutely necessary for easing the People of their insupportable Burdens, and securing the publick Tranquillity, should be confirm'd by the Estates; That both the fecular and regular Clergy should forthwith restore to the Crown, to the Nobility,

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and to all other private Persons, such Lands and Estates as they pretended had been bequeath'd or voluntarily given to 'em since the Reign of King Canutson, and the Edict he publish'd prohibiting such Donations for the future: That the Clergy, as well as the Laity, shou'd be oblig'd to contribute towards the Maintenance and Support of the Army, proportionably to their antient Revenues and Acquisitions: That the Bishops shou'd not be permitted hereaster to inherit the States of the inferior Clergy, by which they had insensibly ruin'd some of the best Families in the Kingdom: That they shou'd quit and renounce their pretended Right to Penalties and Forfeitures; that they shou'd be constrain'd to furrender their Castles and Forts, where open and avow'd Rebels had so often been receiv'd and protected; and, in the last place, that the Clergy shou'd be for ever excluded from the Senate, and from enjoying any Share in the Government.

The Bishop of Lincoping reply'd, that he was not at all surprized to hear such unjust Proposals made by those who encouraged the Attempts of the Lutherams against the establish'd Religion; but that he and the rest of the Clergy were firmly and unanimously resolved to desend the Catholick Faith to the last extremity; and that they wou'd never betray the Church by consenting to the alienation of the Lands that were annexed to their Benefices, or by yielding uptheir undoubted Rights and Privileges, without an express Order from the Pope, whom they held to be the supreme Disposer of the Church Revenue's, as well as the infallible Judge of religious Controversies.

The King was extremely surprized at the Boldness of this Discourse, and was looking about among the Senators and Noblemen, as it were to engage some of em to appear in his desence, when Tureiohanson shood up to speak. But, instead of seconding the Chancellor's Proposals, he told the King, in a very

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1527. confident and haughty manner, that the Bishop of Lincoping could not be too much commended for his Zeal, and that he wished all his Countrymen were inspired with so noble a Resolution to defend the Catholick Religion, and the Liberty of the Nation. The great Marthal's Courage was highly applauded by the Clergy, and by several Deputies of West-Goth. land, who murmured in fecret against the prevailing Enemies of the established Religion, but durst not express their Resentments for sear of incurring the

King's Displeasure.

Gustavus was so incens'd at Turciobanson's unexpected Boldness, and the Applause he received from so confiderable a Party, that after he had reproached em with Ingratitude and an unbecoming Sauciness, he told 'em, that he perceived 'twas the Character of the Swedish Nation, that they could neither endure a Master, nor live without one; that his Declarations against the Clergy, and the Decree of the Senate concerning the Tithes, had procur'd him more Enemies in his own Kingdom than he had among the neighbouring Nations, who envy'd the Happinelsof Sweden; that he knew there were many in the Kingdom, and even in that Assembly, who (according to the Swedish Proverb) would be glad to see the Head of an Axe struck deep into his Head, tho' none of 'em durst take up the Handle; but that they were grosly mistaken, if they thought he mounted the Throne as an Actor comes upon a Stage, only to reprefent the Person of a King. In the mean time he assur'd 'em, that he would be obey'd, and that in the present Juncture of Affairs 'twas requifite he should use an absolute Power, to oppose the Designs and Attempts both of the Emperor and the late King Christiern.

Nevertheless, he protested, that he was willing to relign his Authority, if they thought he could not without Injustice assume the Power that was necessary to maintain it. He told 'em, that he desir'd Part no otl bare I defend fuffer and C Kingo Anger expec and re Office absolu his Or

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no other Recompence for all his Labours than the 1527. bare Repayment of the Money he had spent in their defence; and affured 'em, that he would afterwards fuffer'em to enjoy in peace the Fruit of his Victories and Conquests, and solemnly engage to leave the Kingdom for ever. At these Words, Grief and Anger drew some Tears from his Eyes; and without expecting an Answer, he suddenly left the Assembly, and retir'd to the Castle, tollow'd by the principal Officers of his Army, who urg'd him to assume an absolute and unlimited Power, and offer'd to execute his Orders without expecting the Confent or Approbation of the Estates.

In the mean time the Chancellor staid in the Assembly, to keep the Estates from proceeding to any violent Resolutions in the King's Absence: But nothing was concluded that day; for the temporal Senators and the principal Lords were fo aftonish'd at the King's angry Retreat, that they role up and went out immediately, as if they had been afraid to be seen in the Company of those who had oppos'd the Deligns of their Sovereign. On the other hand, the Bishops with the rest of the Clergy, most of the Lords of West-Gothland, and all the Rabble of Westeras, conducted Tureiohanson to his Lodgings with a kind of triumphal Solemnity.

The haughty Marshal was so puff'd up with the Applauses he had receiv'd, that he cou'd not conceal his Joy to see himself at the head of a Party, which he thought was grown formidable to the King. fancy'd that he cou'd govern the Estates as he pleas'd, and by his Authority influence all their Resolutions. Heenter'd his House with the Sound of Trumpets and Kettle-drums, elevated with his present Success, without confidering the Vanity and Inconstancy of popular Applause, and the extreme and almost unavoidable hazard which a great Man runs by presuming to flight or oppose the Authority of his Prince.

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Next morning the Estates met again, and spent the whole day in mutual Contests. Olaus Petri challeng'd his former Adversary Gallus to examine the controverted Points in a new Conference; but that defign was let fall by reason of a difference that happen'dbe. twixt the two Doctors, concerning the Language that was to be used in the Conference: for Gallus wou'd have propos'd his Arguments in Latin, and after the Method of the Schools; and Olaus, on the contrary, wou'd dispute in the Swedish Tongue, which was equally understood by all the Deputies. In the mean time the Assembly was divided into two Parties: for fome of 'em stood up boldly for preserving the E. states and Privileges of the Clergy, as the only way to fecure the establish'd Religion against the progress of Lutheranism; while others, looking upon these new Opinions as problematical and indifferent Questions, at least till the Controversy shou'd be finally decided by a general Council, thought it the safest Course to prevent a Rupture with the King by an intire Submission to his Will.

While the two opposite Factions were contending about the reasonableness of their different Opinions, the Chancellor was labouring to convince the principal Deputies, that Kingdoms ought not to be govern'd by the Maxims of an Order of Men who have a separate Interest from that of the State, and own a foreign Prince for their Sovereign: That uponall Occasions, and in all Emergencies, the publick Good ought to be reckon'd the supreme and over-ruling That fince all other humane Constitutions were originally fram'd for the Preservation of civil Society, the Frince or supreme Magistrate ought to be intrusted with the Power to alter and model 'em according to the various Exigencies and Tempers of several Nations: That the Clergy had always made Religion a Cloak for their Avarice, and enrich'd themselves with the Spoils of a deluded and super-Atitious

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stitious People: That the Bishops by pretending a Right to inherit the Estates of the subordinate Clergy, had ruin'd the best Families in the Kingdom: That under the several Pretexts of Inheritance, Forfeitures, and Fines, they continu'd by Degrees to make themselves Masters of all the Treasure in the Nation: That they eluded the Force of the Laws, and fecur'd themselves in the possession of their unjust Acquisitions, by the usual Cant of the Patrimony and Revenues of the Church: That the People were fo afraid of their Bugbear, Excommunication, that they were bubbl'd out of their Estates, without daring to complain against their Oppressors: That these defigning Prelates were always ready to execute the Pope's Anathemas against those who had the Misfortune to be condemn'd as Hereticks; tho' they only own'd his Infallibility, fo far as it was fuitable and subservient to their Interest.

By such Discourses, and other Methods that were equally secret and effectual, the Chancellor brought over most of the Deputies to the King's Party, and even prevail'd with several Clergymen to comply with their Sovereign's Designs. They began to reflect upon the Danger of exposing themselves to the Indignation of so potent a Prince; and that cunning Minister endeavour'd to encrease their Fears by instruuting, that an obstinate Resistance was, and wou'd be look'd upon as not much less criminal than an

open Rebellion.

Thus the Interest and Voices of the greatest part of the Assembly were by degrees secur'd for Gustavus, while Tureiohanson, flattering himself with the imaginary Strength of his Party, was dooming the Hereticks to the fire, and solliciting the Estates by a positive Law to declare Lutherans incapable of possessing the Crown, with a secret Design to exclude Gustavus, and that he might have a legal Pretence to oppose his Coronation. This Point was debated with

1527. a great deal of Heat; and every Man was giving his Judgment according to the different Motions of his particular Interest or Inclination, when the Bishop of Stregnez, who had been fecretly gain'd by the

Court, defir'd leave to speak.

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As foon as he had obtain'd liberty to deliver his Loc. 1. 6 p. Opinion, he told the Estates, that he was surpriz'd to hear some of 'em talk so publickly of deposing the King, almost within his hearing, or at least under the Cannon of his Castle: That Matters of such vast Importance were not to be decided by caballing or Plurality of Voices; and that many who talk'd like Heroes in the Assembly, wou'd tremble at the fight of their offended King, at the head of his Army. He ask'd 'em with what Forces they cou'd oppose a Prince, who was Master of all the Troopsin the Kingdom? And, supposing they cou'd persuade him to refign the Crown, whether they cou'destablish sufficient Funds to repay the vast Sums he had spent in their Defence?

He affur'd 'em, that they wou'd find it a difficult Task to clear Accounts with a brave General at the head of a confiderable Army, who might eafily retain the fovereign Power for a Pledge of Payment: That they were grofly mistaken, if they thought, that under another Prince, or a different form of Government, Sweden wou'd be able to make a long refistance against so many Enemies with whom it was surrounded: That every prudent and considering Person wou'd acknowledge, that the Strength and Safety of the Kingdom depended more immediately upon the Person, than upon the Dignity of the King: That every Step the King shou'd make to quit the Throne, wou'd make way for the Kings of Denmark, either Christiern or Frederick, to afeend it: and that 'twas only his Courage and Valour that kept the Enemies of the Nation in awe. Part I

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He added, that tho' the Clergy had not much reason to boast of his Majesty's Favour and Protection, yet the prevailing Power of Truth, and his fincere Love to his Country, oblig'd him to own, that the Safety of the Kingdom was inseparably united to the Person of the King: That he could not without Ingratitude deny a just Acknowledgement to the great Marshal, nor retuse to commend the Vigour and Courage with which he maintain'd the Interests of the Clergy; but that at the same time he thought himself oblig'd to put 'em in mind of the fatal Consequences that are usually produc'd by an impetuous and indifcreet Zeal: That the best Advice he could at present suggest to his Brethren, was, that they would freely relinquish some of their Claims, and yield up some Privileges at a time when their Compliance was so necessary for the Preservation of the Kingdom: That he could not forbear blaming the Imprudence and Injustice of those, who, by pretering their private Interest before the Good of the State, expos'd themselves to the Indignation of a Prince, who could eafily punish their Obstinacy, and was only able to secure the Nation against the Attempts of its Enemies: That 'twas unreasonable to suspect that the King had chang'd his Religion, merely because he wou'd not burn those who thought themselves oblig'd to pray to God in their natural Language: That his Majesty had declar'd on several Occasions, that he was resolv'd to persist in the Religion of his Ancestors: That after all, it could not be deny'd, that under the pretence of Devotion, the Monks had disfigur'd their Holy Religion with superstitious and unwarrantable Innovations: That the King, with the Affistance of the wifest and most learned Persons in the Kingdom, might endeavour to correct those Abuses, without giving the least occasion to accuse or suspect him of designing to introduce a new Religion; and that he might shake

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1527. off the Yoke of the Court of Rome, without separating from the Communion of the Roman Church.

This Prelate's Discourse was heard with great Attention, and produc'd the quicker and more confiderable Effects, because it was not expected from a Person of his Character. The Bishops and the Deputies of the Clergy could hardly restrain the Transports of their Fury: but he receiv'd a loud and general Applause from almost all the rest of the Affembly. Their Eyes were opened in an instant, and the Spell was broken that had kept them folong from complying with the Defires of their Sovereign: They began to look upon his Absence both as their Fault and Misfortune: Their Animofity against him was fucceeded by an eager Emulation to out-do each other in the highest Demonstrations of Loyalty, They proceeded immediately to frame a Declaration according to his Majesty's Proposals, notwithstanding the clamorous opposition of the Clergy; and notice was given to the great Marshal, that 'twould not be fafe for him to make so great a Noise in the Assembly. The Deputies of the Peasants, concluding that the Contest which had divided the Estates, and incens'd the King, was merely about some temporal Affairs, swore aloud, that they would cut in pieces the first Man that should presume to oppose his Majesty's Pleasure. And the great Marshal, with the Lords of West-Gotbland, were so terrified with these Menaces, that they thought they could not otherwise avoid the Storm that threaten'd 'em than by Silence, and a timely Retreat.

By the solemn Declaration or Act of the Estates 'twas ordain'd, that the Bishops should immediately surrender their Forts to the King's Officers, and disband their Troops and Garrisons: That they should be for ever excluded out of the Senate, the Management of Affairs of State being inconsistent with the right Discharge of their ministerial Functions: That

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hey shou'd not be permitted to deprive the lawful 1527. leirs of the inferior Clergy of their Right of Inhenance; that their pretended Right to Fines and offeited Estates; which were properly a part of the Revenues of the Crown, should be intirely abrogaed; that all the superfluous Plate and useless Bells hat belong'd to the Churches, should be sold for the Payment of the Sums due to the Regency of Lubeck; hat all the Grants of Estates to the Clergy, fince the Edict of King Canutson, should be vacated, and he Lands re-united to the Crown; that the Nobility and Gentry might redeem their Estates that were mortgag'd to the Church, by paying off the: Mortgage; that two thirds of the Tithes, that! were enjoy'd by most of the Bishops and Abbots, hould be sequester'd for maintaining the Army, so long as there should be any appearance of a War in the Kingdom; and that in time of Peace they hould be employed in the erecting and endowing of publick Schools and Hospitals in the several Provinces; that severe Punishments should be inficted upon such of the Clergy as should presume to excommunicate any Person for a merely temporal Concern; that the civil Magistrates should take care to restrain the Mendicant Friars from their ustal Rambles; and that all the Privileges of the Clergy should be intirely at his Majesty's Disposal. And by the Chancellor's politick Contrivance there was a Clause inserted in the Act, ordaining, That all considerable Churches should be provided with learned and virtuous Men to expound the pure Word of God to the People; which, in the Language of those times, fignify'd, That Lutheranism should be

preach'd with Authority. As soon as the Act was put into Form, 'twas signed' by all the Deputies, and even by the Bishops, whose mutual Divisions render'd 'em incapable of making any confiderable opposition. Some of them were gain'd

1527. gain'd by the Court, and the rest were forc'd to com. ply, tho' they were sensible that by subscribing the Decree of the Senate, they consented in a manner to their own Deposition, and even to a Clause that was aim'd directly against the Catholick Religion. The Estates pray'd the Chancellor and Dr. Olaus Petri to carry the Act to the King; and charg'd'em to affure his Majesty, that he should not afterwards find the least opposition to his Pleasure in that As-

iembly.

The King, having thus brought them to his own Terms, went in Person to the Assembly; and the Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, thank'd the Deputies for their having at last taken such Reso. Intions as were most suitable to the present Exigen-He affur'd them, in his Master's Name, that all possible Care should be taken to spare the People; and that his Majesty hop'd, by the Assistance of that Supply which they had now granted him, he shou'd be enabled to frustrate the Attempts of all his and their Enemies. Then the King disfolv'd the Assembly, with affurances of suitable Rewards to such of the Deputies as had express'd most Zeal for his Interest.

By this Declaration of the Estates, Gustavus finding himself Master both of the Religion and Revenues of the Church, went at the Head of a Body of Horse to see the Act put in Execution. He march'd thro' all the Provinces, attended by Olaus Petriand several other Lutheran Doctors, whom he order'd to preach before him in the principal Churches. In all the places thro' which he past, he commanded the Titles or Grants by which the Clergy held their Estates to be brought before him; and either reunited to the Crown, or restor'd to the antient Proprietors or their Heirs, such Lands as had been granted or bequeath'd to the Church fince the Reign of King Canutson: By which means he recover'd

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In this Progress, which may be call'dan Expediion against the Clergy, Gustavus gave the last and October. atal Blow to the Catholick Religion: The Priests and Monks were openly perfecuted, and forc'd to thuse either Apostacy or Exile; for this was thought the most effectual way to complete the intended Revolution in the Swedish Church, fince 'twas impossible for Religion to stand after its Supporters were remov'd. Neither was there any need of Pretences to excuse the violence of these Proceedings, at a time when 'twas reputed a Crime for a Clergyman to

profess the Religion of his Ancestors.

Most of the Priests and other benefic'd Clergymen icrupled not to embrace Luther anism, that they might be suffer'd to live quietly in their old Habitations, and enjoy at least a part of their former Revenues. Many were only requir'd to marry, and to perform divine Service in the Vulgar Tongue, which was reckon'd the furest Mark of a Priest's Conversion to the new Religion. The Bishop of Lincoping retir'd to Poland, and the rest of the Prelates lay sculking in their Houses, without daring to perform the Functions of their Ministry, for fear of exposing themselves to new Persecutions. expected the King's Orders with a servile Patience, resolving to submit to whatever Fate he should please to appoint them, and looking upon the lessening of their Revenues as a more pernicious Innovation than the Alteration of their Religion. But the Bishop of Scara

1527. Scara would not refign his Dignity so tamely, or compliment his Sovereign with the Revenues of his Church; and fince he could not defend the Doctrine of the Church by strength of Reason, he resolved to preserve its Patrimony by force of Arms. He prevail'd with Tureiohanson to engage in the same Defign, and fecur'd the Interest and Affistance of le. veral Lords in West-Gothland, who endeavoured to raise an Insurrection in that Province; but the Peafants were possest with so high an Esteem of their Prince, and were so over-aw'd by the Reputation of his Valour, that they neither would nor durst appear in Arms against him; and the Bishop had as. terwards the Mortification to fee himself abandon'd by his own Chapter, who began to favour the Opinions of Luther.

In the mean time the greatest part of the Monks left their Convents; some out of a licentious and inordinate Defire of Liberty, and others for want of a lettled Maintenance. Those who remain'd stedfast in the Profession of the Catholick Religion fled to Dalecarlia, where they thought to find a secure Retreat among a People who had openly declar'd against Lutheranism. Dalecarlia, as I intimated betore, is a remote Province in the Northern parts of Sweden, inhabited by a rude and ignorant People, zcalously fond of their antient Religion, almost mere Savages, inured to War, and on that score it for War, but incapable of Discipline. This wild Country was quickly overspread with Ecclesiasticks, both of the fecular and regular Clergy, old Men and Women loaded with Children, who had left their Habitations, and chose rather to wander thro' the Mountains than comply with the prevailing Religion. The Dalecarlians, mov'd with the Complaints of those miserable Fugitives, and being equally unable to endure the fight of the new Pastors that were plac'd in their Churches, and the Incon-Stancy

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desofhis late Regulations, took up Arms with a great deal Coctrine of Fury. The Priests and Monks joined with 'em, resolved and all the Catholicks and Malecontents espous'd their Quarrel; some out of Zeal for their antient Religion, and to preserve the Revenues of the Church, and others out of spite, because they were disappointed of the Share they expected in the Spoils of the Clergy.

As foon as the Bishop of Scara heard of the Insurrection in Dalecarlia, he went privately to that Province, and join'd the Rebels. He was accompany'd by the Great Marshal, and several Gentlemen of West-Garbland, who had enter'd into a mutual Engagement not to lay down their Arms till they had procur'd the Re-establishment of the Catholick Religion. They were receiv'd with great Demonstrations of Joy by the Dalecarlians, who made Tureio-

banson General of all their Forces.

The Great Marshal had three Sons, the two eldest of whom were at Court, and the third was Grand Provost of the Cathedral of Upfal; who hearing that his Father was at the head of the Rebels, dispers'd Manifestos against the King thro' the whole Province of Upland, exhorting the People to take up Arms for the Preservation of their Churches and Altars; and to encourage them by his Example, he put himself at the head of some Troops. mean time the Great Marshal wrote to his two eldest Sons to steal away from the Court, and join their Brother, or to come immediately to Dalecarlia with as many of their Friends as they could persuade to follow them. The two young Lords were very fenfibly afflicted with the News of their Father's Revolt, which obliged them either to declare against him, or against their Sovereign; and of two Duties, which they looked upon as equally indispensable, to chuse the one and renounce the other.

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But after a short struggle betwixt their Fidelin to their Master and their Duty to their Father, the former prevail'd over the latter, and even over their love to Religion. They concluded, that in Affain of State they were oblig'd to adhere to the supreme Magistrate, and that no difference in Religion could excuse 'em from paying the Obedience they ow'dto their Prince. They consider'd also, that their Lov. alty might atone for their Father's Indifcretion, and procure his Pardon; and that it was more agreea. ble to the Rules of Honour and Prudence to merital Pardon for their Father by their Fidelity, than to make themselves guilty of the same Crime in expectation of a better Fortune. In pursuance of these Resolutions, they deliver'd their Father's Lettersto the King, protesting they would always be ready to venture their Lives in his Majesty's Service. Gustavus receiv'd 'em very graciously, and promis'dto prefer 'em; but seem'd neither to be surpriz'd nor alarm'd at the News. Nor did he make any open Preparations in order to reduce the Rebels, pretending that he was loth to make his Subjects fightagainst one another; and that he hop'd to crush the Rebellion by gentler Methods.

But in the mean time he sent private Orders to his Troops to file off towards the Frontiers of Dalecarlia; that he might be in a Condition to surprize the Rebels, and to reduce 'em to obedience by the fear of Punishment. Upon the first News of the Insurrection he had sent some Persons from Court, who were acquainted with some of the Malecontents, and were not unknown to the Dalecarlians, with Instructions to treat with the Rebels. Those Agents made their first Addresses to the Bishop of Scara, the Great Marshal, and other disaffacted Persons, who had join'd the Dalecarlians. They endeavour'd to gain the Leading-Men by advantageous Proposals, but found it impossible to conquer their Obstinacy;

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and those who were willing to treat, had so little influence over the rest of their Party, and stood upon such high Terms, that they did not think fit to buy 'em off at so dear a rate. However they succeeded better in their Negotiation with the Dalearlian Peasants; for they prevail'd with 'em to send Deputies to the Court, assuring 'em, that his Majesty would deny nothing to a People to whom he ow'd his Crown and his Victories: but their true Design was only to amuse 'em, that they might be less careful to put themselves in a posture of Desence.

The Dalecarlian Deputies were so far from penetrating into the King's secret Designs, that they concluded he stood in awe of 'em, and thought they might easily obtain whatever Conditions thy should think fit to propose. And therefore, in the Name of their Province, and of all the Catholicks in the Kingdom, they demanded, that Lutheranism should be punish'd with Death; That the Marriages of the Priests and Monks should be dissolved, the Bells and Church-Plate restored, and all Persons burnt, withoutexception, that should be found guilty of eating Flesh on Fish-days; That the King should solemnly promise, according to the Custom of his Predecesfors, never to pass the River of Brunebeck, that separates their Province from Westmania, without giving them Hostages for the security of their Privileges. But the main Article on which they infifted was, That both the King and his Courtiers should re-assume the old Swedish Habit, and that they should never afterwards borrow new Dreffes and Fashions from Strangers.

Gustavus amus'd the Deputies with ambiguous Answers, and gave them occasion to believe that they should at least obtain part of their Demands; but in the mean time he continued his secret Preparations

to surprize the Rebels with his whole Army.

As

1527.

As soon as he was certainly informed that his Troops were advanced within a day's March of their appointed Rendezvous, he sent back the Deputies with Orders to tell their Countrymen, That 'twa never his Custom to treat with his Subjects; That if they wanted an occasion to exercise their Valous, they might appear in Arms in the Plain of Tuna, where he was resolv'd to meet 'em at the head of his Army; but if they were afraid to see their Villages destroy'd with Fire and Sword, the only way to avoid the Effects of his just Indignation was to expel the Malecontents out of their Province, lay down their Arms, and submit to his Mercy.

After he had dismiss the Deputies, he took post immediately for the Army, and the Event was answerable to the Prudence of his Conduct; for the Rebels were so amaz'd at his Diligence and Resolution, that they were seiz'd with a sudden Terror and Consternation upon the News of his Approach. Tureinhanson and his Party suspected the Dalecarlians, and sancy'd they had made a separate Peace for themselves; and on the other hand, the Peasants imagin'd that they were betray'd by the Lords. Thus they were in a manner divided into two distinct Factions by their mutual Jealousy, which increas'd daily, and was at last chang'd to Hatred and Enmity.

The Bishops of Scara and Tureiohanson, not daring to trust the Dalecarlians any longer, sled to Norway, from whence they retir'd to King Christiern in the Netherlands; and their sudden Flight struck such a Terror into the rest of their Party, that they lest the Peasants to manage their own Game, who seeing themselves abandon'd by their Leaders, resolv'dto submit to the King's Mercy, and went to the Plain of Tuna, where he had appointed to meet 'em at the head of his Army. As soon as they appear'd, he order'd his Horse to surround 'em, and at the same time commanded the Rebels to discover the principal Authors.

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The affrighted Peasants declar'd their Names, 1527. and the King immediately caus'd 'em to be beheaded, to curb by so necessary a Severity the seditious and inconstant Humour of these People. Thus by an innocent Artifice and commendable Diligence, he appeas'd a furious Insurrection, without any Effusion of Blood, or Diminution of his Forces.

These were the last Efforts of an unbridl'd and tumultuous Liberty; which was forc'd to give way to a more absolute, and consequently a more peaceful Dominion. After this the whole Kingdom fubmitted to the King, and all his Subjects embrac'd Lutheranism; some out of regard to their private Interest, and to make their Court; and others out of their Abhorrence of the irregular Life of the Clergy. The Lutheran Doctors gained some Proselytes by persuading 'em that their Master's Opinions in matters of Religion, which were falfly reckon'd Innovations, were nothing else but primitive Christianity restor'd and purg'd from all Monkish Superstitions, and many were glad to be convinced of the Truth of the prevailing Religion, that they might preserve their Estates without being forc'd to feek their Fortunes abroad.

Gustavus, seeing that most of his Subjects had chang'd their Religion, at last declar'd himself a Lutheran. He made Olaus Petri Pastor of the Church of Stockholm, and his Brother Laurentius Petri Archbishop of Upfal. Upon this new Prelate, he beflow'd a Lady who was related to him, that the Honour of his Alliance might oblige the People to entertain less scandalous Notions of a married Priest: or perhaps that so illustrious a Match might make amends for the great Revenues he had with- 1528. drawn from fo rich a Benefice. The King's Coro- Jan. 12. nation follow'd foon after, and was perform'd at Upfal by this Prelate, with great Solemnity, and at the same time he conferred the Honour of

Knight-

1528. Knighthood on all the Senators, and the chief Lords of the Court.

Sweden was Lutheran all over; King, Senator, Bishops, and all the Nobility made publick Profes. fion of that Religion. But, whereas most of the Country Curates and others of the inferior Clergy had embrac'd it merely by force, or out of weakness, an extravagant Medly of Roman Ceremonia and Lutheran Prayers was introduc'd into several Churches in the Kingdom. Some married Priefts and Curates continu'd still to fay Mass in several Places, according to the Roman Ritual and Liturgy, Baptism was administred with all the Prayers and Exorcisms appointed by the Church; and the Deal were bury'd with the same Prayers that are us'd to beg God to relieve the Souls of the Faithful, the the Doctrine of Purgatory was condemn'd by the Lutherans.

The King, defirous to establish an Uniformityo Worship throughout the whole Kingdom, a thingle necessary for the publick Peace, especially in a Mo narchy, call'd a general Assembly of the whole Cler

gy, in the form of a national Council.

1529. p. 276. Bazius Hift. Eccle. Swed.

The Assembly was held at Orebro, the chief Town Loc. 1. 6. of Nericia, and the Chancellor Lardz-Anderson prefided in the King's Name. This Lutheran Coun cil was compos'd of the Bishops, Doctors, and Pa tors of the principal Churches. They own'd the Augsburgh-Confession as the Rule and Standardo their Faith, and folemnly renounc'd their Obed ence to the Pope, as Head of the Church. The order'd the Roman Worship to be entirely abolish'd prohibited all Prayers for the Dead, borrow'd from the Lutheran Churches of Germany the manner administring Baptism and the Communion, declar the Marriage of Priests lawful, and condemn'd Co libacy and monastick Vows. They confirm'd th Ordinance of the Estates at Westeras, by which th Churc

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Church loft her Privileges, and the greatest part 1729. of her Revenues. And, which is observable, these Regulations were made by almost the same Persons who the Year before had shewed so much Zeal for the defence of the antient Religion; so few there are that can long withstand the feir of Persecution.

or the hopes of Favour.

Yet they met with great difficulties in abolishing the Practice of the Roman Church in the Administration of the Sacraments. The People, and the Women especially, could not be satisfy'd without the Ceremonies of Baptism, and the Prayers for the Dead. The whole Kingdom was fill'd with Murmurings and Complaints upon the Occasion. Most Women, thro' an excessive Fear, proceeding perhaps as much from their Temper as Virtue, thought their Children could not be well baptiz'd without the use of Salt and Exorcisms. And a small residue of Faith as to the Belief of Purgatory created such a disturbance in their Minds, on the account of their deceas'd Relations, as cou'd not be allay'd by all the Eloquence of the Lutheran Doctors.

Gustavus, searing the Complaints and Discontent of the People shou'd break out into a new Rebellion, order'd the Lutheran Ministers to comply with those who stood up obstinately for the antient Ceremonies and not to use the new, but where they

found a Temper dispos'd to receive 'em.

The King having thus compleated the Alteration of Religion, undertook another Project which gave him no less hope of filling his Coffers. Most of the Swedish Provinces were formerly overspread with vast Forests. King Olaus, Trætelga, Amund, and some of their Successors, caus'd a great part of 'em An. 861: to be dif-forested, and bestow'd these new Lands in Tee-farm upon the Nobility and Gentry, for which they were to pay a certain Duty to the Crown. The Lords and Gentlemen had, by degrees, during

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1530. the civil Wars, exempted themselves from paying those antient Duties; and a long Prescription seem'd to have abolish'd 'em, till they were reviv'd by the King, who requir'd both from the Nobility and Gentry, either to part with their Fiels, or to pay Rents at which they were originally tax'd. The Claims and Demands of this Prince differed not much from the most arbitrary Laws and Decrees; and the Parties concern'd, alarm'd at this after-clap, offer'd to come to a fair Composition. The chief Lords of each Province came and treated about it with the Chancellor, and agreed to pay to the King ten Marks of Silver for every Fief or Mannor, or (as it was then call'd) for every Land that paid Tribute to the Crown,

Thus every thing succeeded with this Prince according to his Defire, and even beyond his Hope. He look'd upon the Alteration of Religion as the happiest and most important Passage of his Reign; and the humbling of the Clergy, who were no less formidable to him than the Danes, as a second Conquest of Sweden. Of all his Enemies he had none left but Christiern, that cou'd make him uneasy, or occasion the least disturbance. That Prince was still in Flanders, from whence he carneftly follicited the Emperor, his Brother-in-Law, that he would contribute his Affistance in order to his Restoration. Gustavus kept Spies about him, who gave him Intelligence that Christiern was levying Soldiers in Holland. From thence he concluded that the Threats and Design of a Descent in the Northern Kingdoms were ready to break out into Action, and that Sweden and Denmark were like to be the Scene of the He immediately sent notice of it to Frederick K. of Denmark; and at the same time thought it convenient to fortify himself against the Designs of the House of Austria, by some considerable Alliance. He conceiv'd that the Lutheran Princes of Germany,

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who were extremely jealous of the Emperor's Power, wou'd be easily perfunded to support his Interest, by reason of their Conformity in point of Religion. Upon these Considerations he demanded in Marriage the eldest Daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Lawenburg. The Duke, charm'd with the Valour and Fame of Gustavus, heard the Proposal with great Satisfaction. and fent the Princess, his Daughter, with a numerous Attendance to Lubeck, whither Gustavus sent his whole Fleet to receive her. After her Arrival at Stockholm, the Marriage was confummated with all the Joy and Magnificence that are usual on such. 1531. Occasions. At the same time the King sent the late Sept. 24. Administrator's Son to the Duke of Saxe, his Fatherin-Law, under pretext of improving his Knowledge, by making him travel; but in effect that he might remove from the Sight of the Swedes, a young Prince that feem'd to have a better Title to the Crown, whose Presence stirr'd up the Compassion of

Gustavus's nuptial Ceremonies were scarce at an end, when he receiv'd Intelligence, that a great Number of Troops rais'd for the late King Christiern, were privately imbarking at one of the Ports of Holland. Upon which he dispatch'd a new Courier to the K. of Denmark, (according to a former Agreement) and at the same time put himself at the head of his Army, both to observe the Enemy, and to hinder the Catholicks and Malecontents from favouring the Descent of that Prince.

the most moderate, and might serve for a Pretence

to all distaffected Persons.

The Emperor had all along flatter'd him with Hopes that he wou'd undertake the Expedition himself, with all the Forces of the Empire. But the almost continual War in which he was engag'd with France, broke that Defign; fo that Christiern, difcourag'd by fo many Disappointments, and weary of personating so long, in a foreign Country, a

King

1731. King without a Crown, refolv'd, with some Troops he had gather'd from several Parts, to try his Fortune, and endeavour to force a Passage into his own Dominions.

> Tureiokanson, who was always as brave as a Hero at plotting and contriving Work for others, us'd all possible Arguments to persuade that Prince to make an Attempt upon Sweden. To flatter him, and at the same time to engage him in a Design that could not be prosecuted without his Affistance, he affur'd him, that the Swedes were so incens'd at the late Change of Religion, that they long'd for his Restoration: That 'twould be sufficient to land 3000 Horse in that Kingdom; and that the first Massthat was faid in his Camp would draw thither all the Malecontents, and even many of Gustavus's own Soldiers: That notwithstanding the fam'd Politicks and Subtlety of that Prince, he had fign'd his own Abdication in the Assembly of the Clergy at Orebro, by abolishing the Catholick Religion: That, excepting a small Number of Courtiers, and some military Officers who had a share in the Spoils of the Clergy, the whole Nation detested his Tyranny and the Change of Religion: That he had disbanded his foreign Horse, and that his Foot consisted only of an undisciplin'd Militia, the greatest part of whom would certainly defert Gustavus, as soon as King Christiern should declare, that his only Design was to restore the true Religion, and to redress the Grievances of the Clergy.

Upon these plausible Assurances, Christiern refolved to try the Chance of War, with about ten thousand Men of different Nations, whom he had listed in his Service during his abode in the Low Countries. With this Body of Men, imbark'd in thirty Ships, he set out of a Port in Holland, and steer'd his Course for Norway, which at that time was almost destitute of Troops and Garrisons; which feem'd

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feem'd to be a needless Precaution in a Country that 1531. was fufficiently defended by the Barrenness of its Soil, and the Rocks and Mountains with which 'tis overspread. Christiern knew, that he was less expected there, than in Denmark or Sweden, and from thence he design'd to enter Sweden, either by West-Gothland or Dalecarlia; imagining, that the Country People of these Provinces, were still so incens'd at the Execution of their Countrymen, that they wou'd immediately rife up again in Arms, and fayour his Attempt.

This unfortunate Prince met in his Voyage with a terrible Storm, which dispers'd all his Fleet, and funk some of his Ships. He narrowly escap'd Shipwreck upon the Coast of Norway, and with much ado got to the Bay of Bubus, with the shatter'd Remainders of his Fleet; where he landed without the least opposition, and resolv'd to march to West-Gothland, as a more commodious Place for the Subfiftence of his Troops: But, upon Information that there was a confiderable Body of Horse upon the Borders, to oppose his Passage, he was oblig'd to march Northwards, towards Dalecarlia. In his way he besieg'd a Town call'd Obsto, which yielded on the first Summons, not being in a Condition to make any Resistance. After that he stormed the Castle of Carloftadt, and some Daysafter made himself Master of Congel. These small Successes drew into his Army a great Number of Country People of Norway, encouraged with the Hopes of plundering the Swedish Frontiers; and Archbishop Trolle join'd him with lome Troops he had rais'd in Brandenburg.

Christiern had perhaps as little Respect for the Church of Rome as Gustavus; but it was his Interest to appear a zealous Affertor of that Religion fince his Enemy was a profest Lutheran, and fince the Success of his Designs depended entirely on the Assistance of the Clergy and Catholicks. He pub-

lish'd

which he declared, That his principal Design was the Re-establishment of the old Religion. This Declaration was industriously dispersed by the Archbishop's Emissaries; who made it their Business to persuade People every where, That Christiern had learned wisdom and Moderation in the School of Adversity: That he was become a mild, affable and most gracicus Prince; but especially, that in Flanders, and so near the House of Austria, he had contracted anunalterable Affection and Zeal for the Catholick Religion.

This Manifesto, and these private Infinuations, drew into his Party many Swedes, who still adhered to that Religion: And among others some Dalecarlians, who invited him to march into their Province. These Peasants could not brook the Change of Church Ceremonies, but, above all things, could not endure to hear the Praises of God sung in their Mother-Tongue. They offered to take up Arms, and to declare for him, as soon as he should enter into their Province; provided that he would oblige himself, after his Restoration, to cause all the Lu-

therans to be burnt.

But his March into that Province was stopt by the Snow, that covered all the Mountains which separate Dalecarlia from the Kingdom of Norway. However, that he might find some Occupation for his Army, he advanced towards Akerbuys, and laid Siege before it, notwithstanding the Sharpness of the Winter. Magnus Gyllenstiern, a Danish Lord, and Viceroy of Norway, got into the Place, and resisted all the Promises and Threats with which Christiern endeavour'd to corrupt his Fidelity. He dispatch'd several Couriers to King Frederick, his Master, to acquaint him with the Enemy's Descent; affuring him, That Christiern was very much straitned for want of Provisions, and that Akerbuys was so well desended by

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the Snow and cold Weather, that he could hold out above four Months, in expectation of Relief from Denmark.

No sooner was the Sea open, but Frederick order'd his Fleet to put to Sea, with a considerable Body of Land-Forces under the Command of Canut Gyllen-fiern, Bishop elect of Odensee in Funen, and Eric Gyllenstiern, the Viceroy of Norway's Brothers; concluding, That they would use all possible Diligence to save their Brother from talling into the hands of a Prince, who, without regarding the Faith of

Treaties, seldom gave his Enemies Quarter.

Gustavus on the other side, sent several Detachments of his Forces, to cover the Swedish Frontiers, with Orders to his Officers to observe Christiern's Motions, and to act jointly with Frederick's Generals. He sent also a considerable Number of Troops into Dalecarlia, to prevent an Insurrection of that rebellious People, and put himself at the Head of the main Body of his Army, to keep the Catholicks and Malecontents from assisting the Rebels. The two Danish Generals set sail for Norway, with a design to attack Christiern's Fleet; which they found in the Bay of Bahuys, and burnt entirely, after a Fight that lasted a whole Day. After so important a Victory they landed their Forces, and march'd immediately to relieve the Viceroy.

Christiern, upon the News of the entire Destruction of his Fleet, and the Descent of the Danes, rais'd the Siege of Akerbuys. He attempted once more to enter Sweden by the way of West-Gothland, but met in his way 3000 Swedish Horse, who stopt his Passage. The Danes and Swedes advancing to attack him, he threw himself into the little Town of Cangel, where he entrench'd himself, not so much in hope of escaping from his Enemics, as to avoid the satal Blow for some Days. There he found himself invested on all Sides, surrounded with dis-

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mal Mountains, that were still cover'd with Snow; in great want of Provisions, and straiten'd with Hunger more than by his Enemies. He was naturally subject to furious and violent Passions, which were fower'd and heighten'd by his Difasters: He grew fo jealous and diffident that he suspected Tureiobanson of entertaining a private Correspondence with King Gustavus, because he had told him in Flanders, That there were few Horse in the Swedish Army; he look'd upon that unfortunate Lord with an Indignation that feem'd to denounce his approaching Fate; and ask'd him, Whether the Troops that appear'd upon the Frontiers of Gothland were Squadrons of Swedish Women? The great Marshal wou'd have reply'd in his own Vindication, but he was order'd to withdraw; and the next Day he was found in the Streets of Congel, wallowing in his Blood, having, in all probability, been murder'd the Night before, by secret Orders from Christiern.

> In the mean time, that miserable Prince perceiv'd, that his Ruin grew daily more inevitable; the Famine increas'd in the Town, all the Avenues were posses'd by the Enemies, and their Trenches wereso strong that 'twas impossible to force 'em to fight. In these unhappy Circumstances, the stary'd and despairing Christiern had not so much as the sad Comfort of hoping to die with his Sword in his Hand. Most of his Troops perish'd for Hunger, or deserted before his Eyes; his Orders were flighted, and there was not the least Shadow of Discipline in his Army. Death, which feem'd unavoidable, made 'em forfake a Prince, who was neither lov'd nor fear'd. Many of his Otficers fled into the Danish Camp, and thought themselves happy to exchange their Liberty for Bread.

> The Bishop of Odensee, mov'd with Compassion for a Prince that had been his Sovereign, offer'd him an Interview, to which Christiern consented, and both repair'd immediately to the Place appointed for

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their meeting. The Bishop advis'd his late Sove- 1532. reign to submit to less implacable Enemies than Hunger and Misery, affuring him that 'twas still in his Power to procure honourable Term's from the King, his Uncle, fince the Royal Family of Oldenburg was posses'd of so many Sovereignties, that there might be a Treaty let on foot, to the Advantage and Satisfaction of both Parties. He added, That if he wou'd fuffer himself to be carried to Copenhagen, Frederick's Refentment wou'd be mitigated at the Sight of an unfortunate Nephew; and at the same time he affur'd him, That in case he cou'd not obtain honourable Terms, suitable to his Birth and Dignity, he would bring him back to Norway, and even to Congel, of which he own'd him to be Master, or else wou'd conduct him fafe into the Emperor's Territories.

Christiern was so sensible of the Hopelesness of his present Condition, and so earnestly importun'd by his Soldiers to accept of fuch advantagious Proposals, that he consented to treat with that Prelate and his two Brothers, who commanded the Danish Forces. He obtain'd a fafe Conduct and Provisions for Archbishop Trolle and all his Party, and put himself into the Bishop's Hands, who, after some thort Stay in Norway, to fettle Affairs in that Kingdom, departed thence with Christiern, to whom he gave repeated Assurances as to the Safety of his Perion. But the Bishop, it seems, had exceeded his Commission; without considering, That Princes seldom forgive Attempts upon their Crowns, and that an Usurper can never promise himself a quiet Possession of his Dignity, while the disposses'd Prince is alive, and at liberty.

As foon as Christiern arriv'd at Copenhagen, King Frederick fent a Captain of his Guards to secure his Person, and carry him to the Castle of Sonderburg; where he lay in Prison fourteen Years. "Tis true

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1532. Christiern III. his Cousin-German, Son and imme. diate Successor to Frederick, did somewhat allay the Rigour of his Confinement; but he was forc'd to purchase that Favour with a formal Resignation of his Right to the Crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. After his figning of that Act, he was fuffer'd to take the Divertilement of Hunting or Fishing; the Revenues of the Castle of Calemburg and of the Isle of Sebergard were made over to him for his Sub. fistence, and the Castle of Coldinger for his Habita. tion. There he was treated like a Prince, as long as he liv'd; but, in the mean time, the Governour of the Castle kept an eye upon him, and was oblig'd to answer for the Security of his Person.

Archbishop Trolle, his unfortunate and only Confident, retir'd to Lubeck by virtue of the safe Conduct he had got from the Bishop of Odensee. There he form'd some time after, a League with that Regency, and Prince Christopher of Oldenburg, a younger Son of that Family, with a design to release Chrifiern II. who was still a Prisoner in the Castle of Sanderburg. In order to which that Prelate levied Forces, and scrupled not once more to profanethe Sanctity of his Character: He was wounded and taken Prisoner in a Battle fought in Funen betwixt

1535. the Forces of Christiern III. and those of Lubeck; and was carried to Sleswick in Holstein, where he died of his Wounds.

Gustavus, being thus happily deliver'd from all his Enemies, reign'd afterwards without any Dilturbance or Molestation, and with as much Authority as if the Crown had been his Birth-right. the Princes of Europe, that had no Dependency upon the House of Austria, gave him extraordinary Marks of the fingular Esteem they had for his per-

fonal Merit and Valour. Francis I. King of France, notwithstanding their Difference in point of Religion, fent him the Order of St. Michael, the only Order Part . Order fensive ces aga by whi ther, in by the the inv Gustava the Re to the the gen League for the though

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Part II. Revolutions in Sweden.

Order that was then established in France. A defensive League was made betwixt those two Princes against the Emperor and the House of Austria, by which they were both engaged to assist each other, in case of War, with 6000 Men, to be paid by the Assistant, and, if Occasion required, to assist the invaded Prince with 25000 Men and sifty Ships.

Gustavus was the first King of Sweden, who raised the Reputation of the Crown, and made it appear to the World, what Insluence it might have upon the general Assairs of Europe. The Princes of the League of Smalcalden invited him to join with them. for the common defence of their Religion, and thought themselves happy to have so great a King on their side.

To complete his Happiness, there was nothing wanting but the fixing of the Succession upon his Royal Issue. This was a very nice and difficult Point; for the Nobility was extremely jealous of that Privilege, well knowing that arbitrary Power does commonly attend an hereditary Succession, and that it would by degrees destroy the Liberty of the Nation.

However the King call'da Meeting of the Estates of the Kingdom at Westeras, to abrogate the Right and Custom of Election. He put them in mind of the great Services his Family had done to Sweden, and of the fatal Consequences of the Divisions and Contests of opposite Parties at Elections. His Authority was already fo well establish'd that there was not one in the Assembly who durst oppose his Defigns. The Heads of the principal Families, and the antient Senators were kill'd in the Massacre of Stockholm, and the young Lords that came into the World fince his Accession to the Crown, were accustom'd to a blind Obedience. There was not the least Footstep left of their former Liberty, or of the antient Constitution of their Government, so that the

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only Order the Deputies consented with great Submission to the abrogating of the Right of Election, in behalf of Prince Eric, and the other Princes his Children and Successors, both in the direct and collateral Line.

This Refignation was folemnly entered as a fun. 1544. damental Law, call'd the Hereditary Union, by which the Crown with an absolute Power was made sure to his Children and Successors. This was a very mortifying piece of News to Christiern III. King of Denmark, who still pretended a Right to the Crown of Sweden; for by this Hereditary Union the Treaty of Calmar was entirely disanull'd and abrow gated. Christiern quarter'd the three Crowns in his Coat Armorial, which were the Royal Armsof Sweden, as a publick Claim and Mark of his Right to that Kingdom, under pretext that Queen Margaret the Daughter of Waldemar reign'd over the three Kingdoms of the North; tho' 'twas probably a like Reason that made the Kings of Sweden take these three Crowns for their Arms, since they are found in the Shields and Seals of the Kings Steric and Birgir II. about the middle of the twelfth Age.

King Gustavus sent an Embassy to Christiern, to complain of his Attempt; but could obtain no Satisfaction from a young and ambitious Prince, who was pussed up with some Advantages he had gotten over the Hanse-Towns, and obstinately resolved to pursue his antient Claim. Gustavus sinding himself weaken'd and spent with Age, and the Fatigus of War, conceal'd his Resentment; and did not think it convenient to engage in a new War, or to hazard his Fortune and that of his Children, at a time when he maintain'd his Authority rather by his Reputation, than by his Valour. He was so far from dreading the Opposition of a pretended Claim against the actual Possession of a Crown which

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which had lately been intailed upon his Issue by a 1544folemn Act, that he contented himself with procuring a Treaty to be set on foot at Bramsebroo, by 1546.
which 'twas mutually agreed to leave the Difference
undecided for the space of fifty Years.

Gustavus, having thus settled a solid and durable Peace in his Dominions, applied himself wholly to the Improvement of Trade; in order to which he receiv'd into his Ports all Merchant Ships from. France and Holland, that his Subjects might be freed from their dependance on the Lubeckers, who were possest of the whole Trade of Sweden. He erected Citadels on the Frontiers of his Kingdom, and built Royal Palaces in several Places with a Magnificence that till then was unknown to the Swedes. He ncver refided long in one place, but travell'd from Province to province, always attended with a numerous Train of Courtiers, who excited the Curiofity and Admiration of the People, and accustomed them by their Example to respect his Authority. He figned all Orders and Dispatches with his own Hand, took cognizance of all Affairs, gave audience to all forts of Persons, and administer'd Justice with great Strictness and Severity. All Controverfies and Suits about Religion, Revenues, and Buildings, and even Differences and Law-Suits betwixt Noblemen were pleaded before him, and decided by him. As he had always carry'd on the Wars in which he was engag'd without the Affistance of Generals; to he ruled in peace without Ministers. He reign'd alone without either Favourites or Miftreffes: and made his own Glory and the Happinels of his Subjects the only Object of his Paffions, and the End of all his Designs. Some time before his Death he began to apply his Mind to the finding out of a suitable Match for his eldest Son Prince Eric, that his Family might be supported by the Interest of a potent Alliance. In pursuance of that England, who was then courted with great Affiduity by the most considerable Princes in Europe. But that politick Queen had the Art and Dexterity to manage her Lovers as she pleas'd, and to amuse 'em all with Hopes in their several Turns, according to her own Inclinations, and the posture of her Affairs; by which it appear'd that she had taken a secret and unalterable Resolution never to marry any of them.

Gustavus sent an Embassy to England, to propose a strict Alliance and Consederacy betwixt the two Nations; and Instructions were given to the chief Ambassador to discover the Queen's Inclinations with respect to the intended Match. Denis Beure, the Prince's Governor, obtain'd that Commissions He was a Frenchman by Birth, but a zealous Calvinist, and imagin'd, that if he could negotiate that Match for his Pupil, he might one day establish

Calvinism in Sweden.

Queen Elizabeth receiv'd, with all the external Marks of Kindness and Respect, the Proposals he made to her in the Name of his Master, relating to Trade, and the Alliance or League betwixt the two Nations; and even gave him a favourable Answer with respect to Prince Eric, tho' only in general Terms. The Ambassador fancying that all her Compliments and obliging Expressions were so many Declarations of Love, and that she had already given her Consent, return'd with all Expedition to Stockholm, as if he had finish'd his Negotiation. He affur'd the King, that there was nothing wanting to bring that great Affair to perfection but the Prince's Presence; and that he was confident his good Mien and personal Merit wou'd fix the Queen's Affections. In the mean time Prince Eric, flatter'd with so tempting a Prospect, and incited by his Tutor, endeavour'd to obtain Leave of his Father to

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Affidui. wou'd not hazard the Honour of his Family, by e. But exposing the presumptive Heir of the Crown to a crity to Refusal; nor would he suffer him to go out of the Kingdom till the Articles were fign'd by the Queen of England. And besides, there was perhaps a more impor-

tant, tho' more secret Reason, that made the King 6 averse to that Voyage: Prince Eric was endow'd with several Qualities that were abundantly sufficient to recommend him to those whose Judgment lies in their Eyes; for Nature had bestow'd her Favours upon him with a very liberal Hand, and there was nothing either in his Face or Person that could offend the nicest and most curious Spectator. He had amajestick Presence, an Air of Grandeur and Authority that drew respect from all Men, a fiery Briskness in all his Actions, and a certain impetuous Ardor, which is usually reputed a sure Mark of Courage. But the Lustre of these external Advantages was obscur'd by some inward Defects that were not unknown to the King his Father, and which he was willing to hide from the English. For the young Prince inherited a fort of Extravagancy or Distraction from the Queen his Mother, which feiz'd upon his Brain by Fits, and was always attended with transports of Fury. This Distemper render'd him subject to a certain peevish Sullenness, which by an odd kind of Contagion, seemed to infect all those who approach'd him. And even in his most lucid Intervals he discover'd so much Hardness and Wildness of Temper, that People were affraid of his Government, before the Succession was settled upon him.

These Considerations made such an Impression upon Gustavus, that he was sometimes resolv'd to leave the Crown to his fecond Son, a generous and good-natured Prince, who by his affable and

obliging

1546. obliging Behaviour had won the Hearts of all those that were to be his Brother's Subjects. But that prudent Monarch, considering that such a Prefe. rence might kindle a civil War both in his Family and Kingdom, refolv'd at last to regulate the Succession according to the Order of Birthright: And in the mean time to fatisfy Prince Eric, whom his Tutor had inspired with a violent Passion for Queen Elizabeth, he consented that Prince John, his se-cond Son, should go to the Court of England, under pretence of Travelling, and endeavour to draw

at least a verbal Promise from the Queen.

The young Prince, at his Arrival in the English Court, was receiv'd by the Queen with all the most obliging Expressions of Kindness and Satisfaction. He had a share in all her Diversions: she treated him magnificently, and frequently invited him to Hunting. In short, that wife and subtle Princes, who made all those Proposals of Marriage subservient to her Interest, and politick Designs, omitted nothing that might amuse the young Prince, insinuating upon all occasions that both his Presence and Proposals were extremely agreeable to her. But at the same time she cunningly avoided the Solicitations he us'd to bring her to a positive Engagement, by pretending that the present Posture of her Affairs would not suffer her to conclude the Match fo foon as her own Inclinations prompted her tode-This was the usual Pretext with which she had amus'd fo many Princes, whom she was willing to admit as Lovers, tho' she could not resolve to accept 'em for Husbands.

Upon the Return of Prince John to Sweden, the Philip II. King presently concluded, from the account he gave him of his Negotiation in England, that hiseldest Son would have no better Success in the pursuit of that Match than the King of Spain, the Duke of Alenson, the Arch-Duke, the Earl of Leicester,

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the Lord Courtney, and so many others, whom that 1546. Princess had flatter'd with the same hopes, one after another, and often at the same time. But Prince Eric was so deluded by his Passion and his Tutor's Suggestions, that he imagin'd his Presence wou'd surmount all the Difficulties that retarded his Happiness, and pretended that his Brother, instead of promoting the Match, had purposely endeavour'd to obstruct it, either out of Envy or Interest. He solicited the Senators and Officers of State, both with Intreaties and Menaces, to persuade the King to permit him to visit the English Court. Gustavus, confidering his fierce and unruly Temper, and fearing that he would either go without his Confent, or raise some Disturbance in the State, was at last prevail'd with to grant his defire, and nam'd the Persons that were to attend him.

But before he would fuffer his Son to depart, he made his last Will, and divided his Dominions among the Princes his Children. He left his Crown to Prince Eric, the Dukedom of Finland to Prince John, East-Gothland to Magnus, and Sudermania to Charles: with this Proviso, that the younger Sons should hold their respective Provinces by the Title of Principalities, but on condition of paying Ho-

mage and Fealty to the Crown of Sweden.

Prince Eric was so highly offended at this Distribution, that he was going to take up Arms to demand the Revocation and Disannulling of his Father's Testament; but the Fear of provoking a Prince, who was King of his Children as well as of his Subjects, restrain'd the natural Impetuosity of his Temper. He conceas'd his Anger for the present, with a Resolution to do himself Justice when the supreme Authority should fall into his Hands; and was just ready to set sail for England, when he was detained at the Port of Elssburgh by the News he received of his Father's Decease.

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1546.

That great Prince was feized at Stockholm with an inward Fever, that wasted him by degrees; yet he continued still to manage Affairs with his usual Diligence and Application, and resolved to reign to the last moment of his Life. Some Hours before his Death he fent for Eric Steno, the Secretary of State, to whom he dictated Memoirs concerning the most secret Affairs of the Kingdom. As soons that Officer was dismist, he called for the young Princes, and charged 'em to love one another, and to submit peaceably to their Brother, who was now going to be their Sovereign. Then he gave 'em his Bleffing, and made 'em presently withdraw, lest his Mind should be discomposed by the Tears of his Children. He difmist even his Physicians, who in that Extremity continued still to flatter him with hopes of Life, that he might spend his last Moments without disturbance in fixing his Thoughts Sept. 20. wholly upon God. Thus he died peaceably, in the Arms of his Servants, in the seventieth Year of his Age. His Body was carry'd to Upfal, where his Funeral was folemniz'd with publick Orations and Panegyricks, with the Tears of all his Subjects, and

> with the grateful Remembrance of his great and glorious Actions.

> His Advancement was merely the Effect of his Valour; but tho' he was born a Subject, he reigned with as absolute a Power, as if his Birth had entitled him to a Crown. He altered the established Religion, and made the Laws of the Kingdom and the Property of his Subjects depend intirely upon his Pleasure; and yet died adored by the People, and admired by the Nobility. The introducing of Luther anism into the Kingdom has left a Stain upon his Memory, that exposes him to the just Censures of those who reflect upon the fatal Consequences of that Revolution. His Guilt may indeed be leffen'd by a charitable Conjecture, that at first he only intended

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tended to reform the Abuses of the Clergy, or at 1560. most to employ part of those vast Estates, which at that time were possest by the Bishops, in the neceffary defence of the Kingdom. But tho' a Fault of this nature will not admit of an Apology, it must be acknowledg'd that in all other respects he deserves the Praise and Admiration of Posterity. He left his Kingdom in Peace with all his Neighbours, fecur'd by a League with France, and enrich'd by a flourishing Trade with all the Nations of Europe: The Revenues of the Crown were much augmented, the publick Treasury full, and the Arsenals well furnish'd: There was a considerable Navy in the Ports, the Frontier Places were fortified; and in a word, Sweden was in a Condition to strike her Enemies with Terror, and inspire her Allies with Respect.



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A Chronological Abridgment of the Swedish History.

Islorians are usually so fond of the Reputation on of their Country, and a e apt to assert the Antiquity of its Original with so extravagant a Zeal, that a considering Person will bardly venture to depend upon the Au-

thority of the Authors of antient Chronicles, and the Accounts they have left us of those distant and obscure A. If they can find, among the antient Hero's, or even among the first Inhabitants of this World, a Perfon whose Name has the least Affinity to that of their Country, they conclude immediately that he was the Foun. der of their Nation, and establish the Truth of their Hy. pothesis upon the Credit of a forc'd Etymology. But inmy Opinion there are no Writers that are either so credulous or partial as those who have publish'd an entire Body of the Swedish History: For if we may give credit to their Relations, that Kingdom is the antientest Monarchy in Europe. They tell us that Magog, Noah's Grandson, travel'd from Scythia to Finland; and from thence coasted the Bothnick Gulph to Gothland, where he settled his Son Gethar or Gog, who according to these Historians, was the first Prince of the Goths, and the Founder of the Race of their Kings. I will not undertake, in this place, to decide that celebrated Question, whether Sweden be the original Habitation, or only a Colony of the antient Goths. But these Opinions are asserted by feveral Authors. But I am fully fatisfy'd, that'twould be a difficult Task to give a clear and distinct Account of the first Inhabitants of Sweden, from whence they came, and when they began to settle in that Country. Nor wou'd it be less difficult to prove, what those antient Chroniclers feem to suppose, that Sweden was govern'd by Kings almost as soon as it was peopled; for 'tis probable, that the Fathers and Heads of Families were the first Princes of

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of the Earth, and that Men did not voluntarily submit to a monarchical Government, till they were convinc'd, by a long Experience, of the Inconveniencies of a wild

and tumultuous Liberty.

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But, Supposing some antient Manuscript had faithfully preserv'd the Names of the several Lords that have govern'd Sweden, fince the Original Foundation of that Monarchy; who can tell whether they were Kings, or only Princes of some particular Country, or perhaps Judges and Captains in their respective Jurisdictions? And 'tis even not improbable that those Princes and Captains, whose Names are preserv'd, were contemporary, and at the same time Governours of several Provinces; and that the Reason why Historians ranked them in a succesfive Order, was that they might have a longer Series of Kings, to fill up their Chronology. In the mean time 'tis certain, that there is no fix'd Æra to be found in the History of Sweden, till about the middle of the twelfth Age; before which time the Relations of that Country are full of Darkness and Confusion, the History is intermix'd with Fables, and embellish'd with fictitious Wonders, extracted from old Legends, or antient Songs in beroick Verse, which were the only Annals of those Times.

The Hero's and Princes of those remote Ages; are always represented either as Giants or Magicians, who signalized their Strength and pretended Skill by open Robberies, and all the most barbarous Effects of Fury and Revenge. Justice and Honesty were so far from being practised, that the very Names of these Virtues were not known among those rude and unciviliz'd Nations. Force was the supreme Law; the Power and Violence of an Oppressor entitled him to the Respect and Esteem of the People, and 'twas reckon'd inconsistent with the honour of a Prince to marry a Princess, before he had ravish'd her. The killing of a wild Beast in the sight of the gazing Rabble, or the surprizing and assassinating of an Enemy in his House, were look'd upon as Exploits worthy of immortal Honour: And a fortunate Murderer was not only only admir'd as a Hero during his Life, but ador'd as

a Deity after his Death.

However Ithought fit to present the Reader with a Catalogue of those antient Monarchs, as they stand recorded in the Swedish Chronicles, beginning with Eric I. who reign'd 2000 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, if we may give Credit to the usual Computation of those who have compil'd the Annals of that Kingdom. I have marked the Chronology in the Margin, according to the Opinion of those Authors: But I dare not undertaketo warrant the Truth of their Relations, till the Consustant and Uncertainty of the Story begins to be lessened by the Nearness of the Prospect, and the Exactness of the Historians.

Years of the World.

The Fabulous History of Sweden.

ERIC I.

THIS Prince's Birth is altogether unknown to us, nor are we better inform'd of the means he us'd to make himself Master of his Country, or of what passed under his Government. Some Authors relate, that he sent considerable Colonies to the Islands of the Cimbrick Chersonese, which at present are part of the Kingdom of Denmark; but the Danish Historians will not acknowledge the Truth of a Story that seems to have been invented by some Swedish Writer to raise his Country to the Honour of Antiquity, and at the same time to a kind of Superiority over the neighbouring Nations.

UDDO, ALO, OTHEN, CHARLES I. BIORN, GETHAR, GYLSO.

Princes, and the very Fable is here at a stand; only their Names are preserv'd. By some Authors they are called Judges: Nor is it known whether they

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govern'd at the same time in several Provinces of the Kingdom, or successively.

An Interval of 400 Years, during which the fabulous History is altogether silent.

OTHEN,

A famous Magician, commanded the Winds as he 2600. pleas'd, assum'd the Form of any wild Beast, and had Intelligence of what pass'd in the remotest Places, by the means of two domestic Demons. The Report of his wonderful Skill kept his Enemies in awe, and inspir'd his Subjects with so profound a Veneration and Respect for him, that after his Decease they enroll'd him among the Gods. The Stories of Magicians and Witches found an easy Admittance into the Belief and Admiration of those credulous and ignorant Ages.

HUMBLUS.

If we may rely upon the Testimony of the Swedish Historians, this Prince settled his eldest Son Dan in the Cimbric Chersonese, who left his Name to the Country. He fent Norus his second Son to the Northern Provinces, where he founded the Kingdom of Norway. One may eafily perceive, that this Story is founded upon the Affinity of the Names Dan with Denmark, and Norus with Norway.

SIGTRUG.

History is altogether filent concerning the Fortune and Adventures of the Posterity of Humblus: Only 'tis observed by the Swedish Authors that Sigtrug ulurp'd the supreme Power. 'Tis plain, that at that time there was no fettled Form of Government in Sweden; and 'tis probable the Crown was only Hereditary, when the Sons of the deceas'd King were strong enough to maintain themselves in that Station; nor were they advane'd to it, till they

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SUIBDAGER,

King of Norway, conquer'd Denmark from Gram King of Cepers. The Swedes, charm'd with his Valour, or aw'd by his Power, chose him for their Sovereign; by which Election he was advanc'd to the Sovereignty of the three Northern Kingdoms. This Prince, according to the Swedish History, is the first Foreigner upon whom the Crown was confer'd.

HASINUND,

2981. Son and Successor of Suibdager, was slain in a Battle against the Danes.

UFFO,

War against the Danes with Success; but at last Hading, King of Denmark, under colour of an Interview for a Treaty of Peace, drew him into a Place, where he caus'd him to be affassinated.

HUNING,

Uffo's Brother and Successor, after a bloody War, 2983. which he undertook against the King of Denmark, to revenge the Death of his Brother, chang'd of a dudden his violent Hatred against his Enemy into an Excess of Friendship. A solemn Peace was concluded betwixt the two Princes, with a folemn Oath on both sides, that upon the Death of either, the other shou'd not survive him. It happen'd not long after, that Hading was falfly reported to have been affaffinated by his own Daughter; which Huning believing, resolv'd to die according to his Promise. In pursuance of this Design, he regal'd his Friends and the chief Persons of the Kingdom with a sumptuous Entertainment, and at the Conclusion of the Feast, being drunk, he threw himself into a deep Tub full of Mead, where he was drown'd. Hading

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Hading was vex'd at the News, but resolving to imitate the Generosity of his Friend, he very courageously hang'd himself in the sight of all his People; if there be any Credit to be given to those antient Histories, or rather to the Histories of those antient Ages.

REGNER,

The Son and Successor of Huning, was made King of Sweden, notwithstanding all the Opposition of his Mother-in-Law Torilla. He govern'd his Subjects with much Equity and Moderation: But these peaceful Virtues were so far from procuring him the Love and Esteem of a cruel and barbarous People, that he was slighted and contemn'd, because he wou'd not gratify their savage Humour by plundering the neighbouring Countries, and perhaps also because he was too generous to cause his private Enemies to be assassing to the same and the same and

HOTHEBROD,

The Son and Successor of Regner, was a warlike and daring Prince, and undertook several fortunate Expeditions against the Finlanders, Russes, Esthonians and Curlandians: After which he attack'd Roe King of Denmark, whom he kill'd at the Head of his Army. He pursu'd the Victory with so much Vigour, that he made himself Master of the whole Kingdom: But he did not long enjoy his Conquest; for the Danes revolting at the Instigation of Helgo Roe's brother, Hothebrod was routed and killed, and the Swedes were expell'd out of Denmark. These pretended Conqueits of Kingdoms were only Inroads made by the victorious Party into the Enemy's Country. For fince there were no Places of Strength where Garisons could be left to secure the Conquest, as loon as the victorious Army retir'd with their Booty, the conquer'd Nation took up Arms, and chole a new King or Captain, to command them.

ATTILLA

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ATTILA I.

Succeeded his Father Hothebrod, and marry'dthe Mother of Rool King of Denmark. But that Match, instead of producing a lasting Peace between the two Kingdoms, and a good Understanding betwixt the Kings, served only to re-kindle the War with greater Fury than ever. The Queen of Swedenhaving seized upon the Treasury of the King her Hubband, sled to her Son in Denmark. Attila incens'dar her Persidiousness, invaded Denmark with his Forces, and routed the Danes. Rool was deseated and killed by one of the Swedish Generals; and Hother, Attila's Brother, was made King of Denmark.

HOTHER,

3174. King of Sweden and Denmark, routed the Danes, who revolted at the Instigation of Balder, a Prince of that Nation; after which he march'd against the Russes, but lost his Life in that Expedition.

RODERIC.

3252. This victorious Prince revenged his Father's Death by the Defeat of the Russes, and subdu'd the Finlanders, Wendi, and Sclavonians.

ATTILA II.

The Son and Successor of Roderic; he fought a single Combat at the head of his Army with Frewia the General of the Danish Forces, and kill'd him. Frovia left two Sons, who, as soon as they were grown up to Age, went to Sweden, and offer'd their Service to Attila, pretending to be Soldiers of Fortune. They were receiv'd into the King's Houle, whom they afterwards assassinated, to revenge the Death of their Father.

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BOTWIL, CHARLES II. GRIMMER, TOR-DON, GOTHAR, ADOLPHUS, ALGOT, ERIC II. LINDORP.

The fabulous Chronology mentions only the names of these nine Princes, without relating their Adventures, or so much as the length of their Reigns.

3351.

ALARIC.

Under this Prince's Reign the Swedish Monarchy was divided into two Kingdoms, Alaric reigning in Sweden, and Gestiblind in both the Gothlands. This Division, and the Neighbourhood of two barbarous Nations, occasion'd bloody Wars betwixt 'em. Alaric, according to the Custom of those Times, challenged Gestiblind to a single Combat; who declin'd it by reason of his Age, but offer'd to substitute Eric Prince of Norway, who was come to his Affistance. The two Champions fought with all the Fury and Obstinacy that Men are capable of, when they resolve either to conquer or die. Alaric Was flain; and Gestiblind, to reward Eric's Valour, not only gave him the Crown of Sweden, but appointed him his Successor in the Kingdom of Gothland; by which means these two Crowns were not long after re-united upon the Head of that Prince.

ERIC III. firnam'd the Wife.

This Prince lived in a profound Peace, and applied himself wholly to the Administration of Justice, and the Execution of the Laws. This procur'd him the sirname of Wise, which he preserved to that of Brave or Courageous, tho' he really deserv'd the latter by the Valour he shewed in the Combat he fought with King Alaric.

3931.

HALDAN I.

The Son and Successor of Eric the Wise; he signaliz'd himself in the Wars of Norway, and restor'd Fric- A C. delef 43.

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which he had been expelled by an Usurper. Returning to Sweden at the head of a victorious Army, he resolved to make his Will the only Standard and Rule of his Government. Upon which his Subjects revolted, his Officers and Soldiers for sook him, and he was at last put to death by the Malecontents.

SIWARD.

Haldan's Son, was own'd for his Successor, upon condition that none should be molested about the Death of his Father. Under this Prince's Reignthe Goths were again separated from the Swedish Monarchy, and chose for their King a Prince called Charles, of the Family of their antient Kings; who to effablish his Authority, made a League with Harald King of Denmark, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage. Siward, to prevent the ill Consequences of that Confederacy, gave his Daughter Ulvildato Frotho the King of Denmark's Brother, who by reafon of his Valour was more respected among the Danes, than the King his Brother. Matches kindled a civil War in Denmark, and Frotho was supported by those who admired, and endeavour'd to imitate his Bravery. He fought with the King his Brother, routed his Army, and flew him with his own hand in the heat of the Fight. King Harald left two Sons, Haldan and Harald, who to revenge their Father's Death, furpriz'd Frotho in his House, burnt him alive, and ston'd Queen Ulvilda. This furious piece of Revenge, which was esteem'd by those barbarous People as a most brave and generous Action, made all the Danes unanimously re-They march'd folve to follow the young Princes. into Sweden, gave Battle to King Siward, cuthis Army in pieces, and flew him in the Fight.

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ERIC IV.

The two victorious Brothers divided their Conquest; Denmark salling to Harald's Lot, and Sweden to Haldan's. But the Swedes set up Eric, Siward's Grandson, against Haldan; which occasion'd a new Civil War. Eric obtain'd several Victories on Land; but Harald, coming with a great Fleet to his Brother's Assistance, routed Eric's Navy, who rather than submit to his Enemy's Mercy, threw himself into the Sea.

HALDAN II.

Succeeded Eric, according to his Custom of those times, when the Crown and Dominions of the vanquish'd Prince were always the Conqueror's Reward. This Prince slew with his own Hand two monstrous Giants, and fought afterwards alone against Siward and his seven Sons, whom he kill'd in a single Combate. Such great Exploits procur'd him the Admiration of the Swedes, who celebrated his Praise in their heroic Songs, and after his Decease rank'd him among their greatest Heroes.

UNGUIN.

This Prince, who was already King of the Goths, was appointed by Haldan for his Successor to the Crown of Sweden. But the Swedes, resolving to maintain their Privilege of chusing their own Master, elected Raguald. One Battle decided the Difference, in which Unguin was slain by Raguald.

RAGUALD.

This Prince, not contented with the Death and Defeat of King Unguin, pursu'd Siguald his Son to Denmark, whither he had retir'd; who, being affisted by the Danes, gave him Battle in Seland, and kill'd

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kill'd him with his own Hand at the Head of both Armies.

AMUND.

He succeeded his Father Raguald, and contented 220. himself with the Possession of the Crown, without undertaking any confiderable Attempt. He had four Sons who refided in the Court of Denmark, where they occasion'd great Disorders. If we may believe the Chronicles, 'twas the usual Custom of young Princes in those times to travel thro' the neigh. bouring Countries in quest of hazardous Adventures, to fignalize their Courage and Valour. To kill a Giant in a fingle Combat, or a wild Beast in the Presence of a King; to carry away a young Princes, and to debauch or ravish a Queen, were reckon'd among their noblest Exploits, and worthy of immortal Honour. And the bold Hero at his Return to his Country was always prefer'd before the reft of his Brothers, when the Throne became vacant by his Father's Death.

HAQUIN.

This Prince during the Life of his Father Amund, invaded Denmark, routed King Sigar in a pitched Battle, and put the whole Country under military Execution, to revenge the Death of his Brothers, who were kill'd by the King of Denmark's Order. He was advanc'd to the Throne after his Father's Death, and had the good Fortune to die in peace; nor was the Tranquillity of his Reign disturb'd by any civil or foreign War.

OSTEN.

obtain'd the Crown of Sweden by Election. To revenge his Father's Death, who was affaffinated by the Norwegians for his Cruelty, he enter'd that King-

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Kingdom at the head of his Army; and having defiroyed the whole Country with Fire and Sword,
without sparing either Age or Sex, he appointed
his Dog to reign over 'em, as reckoning 'em unworthy to obey a Man. Perhaps this Story is a
mere Fable, occasion'd by a punning Allusion to the
Name of the Person whom he intrusted with the
Government during his Absence; tho', if we consider the wild and barbarous Genius of that Age, it
it may not improbably be supposed that he gave the
Title of Viceroy to a real Dog. Nor will that Act
of Revenge seem more surprizingly extravagant,
than the fantastical Humour of a certain Roman
Emperor, who made his Horse a Consul.

Caligula;

ALVER.

This Prince being one of the most considerable Persons of the Swedish Nation, was chosen King after the Death of Osten. He deteated the Russians, and made'em tributary to the Crown of Sweden. He died in Peace after a short Reign.

235.

INGO.

He was chosen King after the Death of his Father Alver, and fixed his Residence at Upsal, which he made the capital City of the Kingdom. His Successors oftentimes assumed the Title of Kings of Upsal, to distinguish themselves from other petty Sovereigns who founded little Monarchies in several Provinces of the Kingdom.

240.

FIOLMUS.

History has only preserved the Name of this Prince, without acquainting us with his Actions or with the length of his Reign: Nor are the succeeding Princes for a hundred Years so much as mention'd in the Swedish Chronicles.

262.

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INGELL.

INGELL.

378. He was so incenst at his Brother Olaus for admonishing him of his Wise's Infidelity, that he became his declared Enemy. But the Quarrel was soon decided by the Death of Ingell, who was kill'd by Olaus.

GERMUNDER.

against Harald King of Denmark, his Brother-in-Law, who finding himself unable to sustain the Shock of so potent an Enemy, beg'd a Peace, and having obtain'd it, desired Germunder to make a Visit to the Queen his Sister. Immediately that unfortunate Prince disbanded his Army, and went to the Court of Denmark, where he was apprehended and afterwards hanged by the Command of the treacherous Harald, in the Sight of all his Vassals whom he invited to be Witnesses of that dismal Spectacle.

Hostages; the Kings kept no Guards, nor did their Houshold consist of a numerous Train of Officers. During the War they were served by the principal Persons of the Nation; but as soon as a Peace was concluded, every Man retired to his own House, and left the Prince alone with his Family and dome-

flick Servants.

HAQUIN RINGO.

Arms, but he resolved to revenge his Father's Death upon his faithless Murderer. In order to the effectual Execution of that Design, he us'd more than ordinary Diligence in levying Forces, and entertain'd all the straggling Adventurers that wou'd enter into his Service. The neighbouring Nations engag'd in the Quarrel according to their various Interests, or

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the Defigns and Inclinations of their Sovereigns: The English, Irish, and Saxons declar'd for the King of Denmark, and Haquin was affilted by the Norwegians, Curlandians, and Esthonians. The two contending Princes arm'd all their Subjects, and even the Women were inspir'd with a generous Ambition to obtain a share both in the Hazard and Glory of so important an Action. Hetha commanded a Company of Women in the Swedish Army, and Visna march'd under the Danish Standards. At last the two Armies came to a decifive Battle, in which Harald was kill'd; and the victorious Haquin having made himself Master of Denmark, entrusted Hetha with the Government of that conquer'd Kingdom. Historians observe that the King of Sweden ow'd his Victory to the Valour of the Dalecarlians, who inhabit one of the northern Provinces of that Country.

EGIL.

The Son and Successor of Haquin. He impos'd a Tribute upon Amund King of Denmark, subdu'd a seditious Party that rebell'd against him, and after all was unfortunately kill'd by a wild Oxat hunting.

GOTHER.

He seiz'd and carry'd away the Daughter of A-mund King of Denmark, and conquer'd Schonen and Haland which belong'd to the Danes. At last he was killed by his own Subjects who revolted against him for establishing some new laws that seem'd to encroach on the Privileges and Liberty of the Nation.

ADELUS.

Gother was succeeded by his Son Adelus, whose Reign is remarkable for his successful Expedition against the Danes to revenge the Death of his Sister, who lost her Life by the ill-grounded Jealousy of her U 2 Husband,

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Husband, Jammeric King of Denmark. The King of Sweden invaded Denmark, and befieg'd that cruel Prince, who was no less odious to his own Subjects than to his Enemies. Jammeric was taken after a Siege that lasted some Months, and his Legs and Arms were cut off by the victorious Swedes, who pillag'd his Treasures, and re-united the Provinces of Schonen, Haland, and Belking, to Gotbland, from which they were formerly dismember'd.

OSTAN.

This Prince lost both his Crown and his Life by endeavouring to impose a Tax upon his Subjects; for that fierce People, who were extremely jealous of their Liberty, were so incens'd against a Prince, whom they look'd upon as an Oppressor, that having surprized him in his House, they burnt him and his whole Family.

'Tis plain from this Instance, and from the History of the preceding Kings, that the Fate of those Princes seemed to be in the Power, and to depend

upon the Humour of their Subjects.

INGOMAR.

Historians relate that Gothland was at that time subject to a distinct King, who had a Daughter of admirable Beauty, which is the usual Character of all the Princesses that are mentioned in those antient Histories. Snio King of Denmark and Ingomar King of Sweden were both captivated by the Charms of that young Beauty; and tho' the former was more agreeable to the Daughter, the latter was preserted by the Father, who made the King of Sweden happy in the possession of his Mistress, with the Reversion of a Crown for her Dowry. The King of Denmark cou'd not patiently bear the loss of so considerable a Prize: He enter'd Sweden at the Head of

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an Army, and having vanquish'd his Rival, he seiz'd on the fair Queen, who without Reluctancy sollow'd the Conqueror of her husband. But Ingomar was rather irritated than discouraged by his Missfortune: He made new Levies, invaded Denmark, routed and kill'd Snio, and was so far from scrupling to receive his beautiful Wise, that the difficulty of the Conquest served only to heighten the Pleasure of the Victory. At last he was kill'd in a War which he undertook against the Russes.

HALSTAN I. RAGUARD, WARTMAN, TORDON, RODOLPH, GOSTAG, AR-THUR, HAQUIN, CHARLES IV. CHAR-LES V. BIRGET, ERICV. CORIL, BI-ORN II. ALARIC II.

Here there is a long Interruption in the Swedish History: for the Names of the Princes who governed that Kingdom from the Year 460 to the beginning of the ninth Age are preserved, the Memory of their Actions is entirely lost; neither do we find in the Chronicles so much as an Account of their Families.

BIORN III.

The Reign of this Prince may be reckoned a considerable Æra in the History of Sweden: For the Emperor Lewis the Gentle sent Angsarus Bishop of Breme, who preached the Christian Doctrine in that Kingdom, and converted several petty Kings. But notwithstanding all the Labours of that Prelate, Idolatry prevail'd in the Kingdom till the end of the tenth Age, when the People began to erect Churches to the Honour of the true God, under the Reign of King Olaus the Tributary, who openly profest the Christian Religion.

BRAUT-

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BRAUT-AMUND.

This Prince perceiving that the People were very numerous, disforested the woody and untill'd Grounds, and bestow'd'em on his Subjects, who by way of Acknowledgment were oblig'd either to pay a certain Tribute, or to assist the King on Horse-back in time of War. From hence we may reckon the Original of the Fiefs of this Kingdom, which at first held immediately of the Crown, but were asterwards usurp'd by the Clergy and Nobility. King Braut-amund did not long enjoy the Advantage of this new Settlement: for his Brother Sivard rebell'd against him, and kill'd him at the Head of his Army, in the third Year of his Reign.

SIVARD II.

827.

The Swedes immediately plac'd the Crown on the head of the victorious Rebel, while he was yet stain'd with the Blood of his Brother and Sovereign: For in those Days Force was the supreme Law, and a fortunate Malefactor was prais'd and rewarded fora Crime that wou'd have been severely punish'd if it had not been attended with Success. Sivard seeing himself fix'd on the Trone, invaded the Norwegians, whom he surpriz'd before they could put themselves in a posture of Defence: He pillag'd the whole Country, ravish'd the most beautiful Women, and after he had satiated his own Lust, left 'em to be abus'd by the chief Captains of his Army. But thele Barbarities were in some measure expiated by the speedy Vengeance that overtook the impious Tyrant: The Norwegians, animated with Despair and Fury, made head against their Oppressor, the very Women ran to Arms, and Sivard himself fell by the hand of one of those Heroins whom he had abus'd, as a Sacrifice to her injur'd Vertue, and to the Honour of the Nation.

HEROT.

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This Prince had a Daughter who was reputed a compleat Beauty; Regner King of Denmark demanded her for his Wise; but the King of Sweden, according to the usual Custom of those times, would not bestow the Princess upon him till he had signalized his Courage by sighting against two Bears of a prodigious Bigness, who insested the Country about Upsal. Regner accepted the Condition, slew the two Bears, and received the dear recompence of his Valour. Some Authors relate that these pretended Bears were two Robbers who made a terrible havock in the Country, and for that Reason were call'd wild Beasts by the People.

CHARLES VI.

He was elected by the unanimous Consent of the Swedes, Herot's Children being excluded from the Succession. One of the Sons of the deceas'd King was incited by his Brother-in-Law, Regner King of Denmark, to oppose the pretended Injustice of that Election. Great Preparations were made on both sides, and at last they came to a decisive Battle, which put an End to the Dispute by the Death of both the Competitors. But the neither of the two contending Parties cou'd boast of their Success; Regner look'd upon the deseat of both as an important Victory, and during the general Disorder made his Son Biorn, King of Sweden.

BIORN IV.

Biorn was the Son of Regner King of Denmark, and Grandson of Herot King of Sweden. He endeavoured to make himself the absolute Master of his Subjects, and treated 'em as conquer'd Slaves. But he was at last convinc'd of the Impracticableness of that

868.

that Attempt; and that he had to do with a People who lov'd their Liberty too well to suffer a Stranger to deprive 'em of it; for they took up Arms against their Oppressor, and forc'd him to retire to Norway.

INGIALD.

940.

After the Flight of Biorn, Ingiald, the Grandson of Braut-amund, was advanc'd to the Throne at the 'Tis faid that he was desire of the whole Nation. nourish'd in his Youth with the Hearts of Wolves. to make him strong and fierce; and that his Temper and Actions were fuitable to his Food and Education. The Inauguration of the Prince, and the Ceremony of taking Possession of the Crown, consisted at that time in a splendid Feast, to which all the principal Persons of the Kingdom were invited by their new Sovereign. As foon as the Entertainment was over, a large Vessel call'd Bragagebar was fill'd with Wine, which the Prince was oblig'd to drink up before he mounted the Throne. fwore folemnly to extend the Limits of the Kingdom, and to make his Enemies feel the Weight of his Sword. Ingiald took this Oath at his Accession to the Crown, which was accompany'd with all the usual Ceremonies. Most of the Provinces in the Kingdom were at that time subject to distinct Kings, who only paid Homage to the King of Upfal when they were over-aw'd by his Power. Ingiaid, according to the Custom, invited them to the Solemnity of his Coronation, and regal'd them with a great deal of Magnificence; but the Scene was chang'd at night: For the King of Upfal resolving to rid himself of so many petty Sovereigns, who seldom own'd his Authority but when they were forc'd to obey him, ordered 'em to be burnt in the House whither they retir'd after the Feast, and immediately

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mediately vernment of their Provinces. This open Violation of the Law of Nations, and of the publick Liberty of Sweden, render'd the King so odious to his People, that when his Dominions were invaded by the King of Denmark, they refus'd to affish him. Thus he saw in himself a memorable instance of the Vanity of a mere titular Sovereignty, and of the Weakness of a King that does not reign in the Hearts of his Subjects. The Danish Army advanc'd without opposition, and the unfortunate Ingiald fearing less the should fall into the Hands of his Enemy, burnt himself in his House with his whole Family.

OLAUS TRATELIA.

The Sirname of Tratelia was given him, because, in imitation of King Braut-amund, he disforested several Lands, which he bestow'd as Fiess upon his Subjects; so that almost all the till'd Ground in the Kingdom was at that time tributary to the Crown,

INGO II.

The Son and Successor of Olaus. He was a peaceable Prince, and consequently despis'd by his sierce Subjects, who delighted in nothing but War.

ERIC VI.

He ow'd his Advancement to his own Subtlety, and to the Superstition of the Swedes, who took him for a profound Magician. He persuaded them that the Winds and Tempests were at his Disposal, and by that means easily gain'd the Respect and Admiration of a rude and barbarous Nation.

ERIC

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907.

than his Predecessors. He cross'd the Baltick Sea with an Army, made a Descent in Livonia, and subdu'd that Province. He enlarg'd his Dominions with the Addition of the Provinces of Schonen and Haland, which he conquered from the Danes; and after a long Series of Victories died, beloved of his Subjects, and fear'd by his Neighbours and Encomies.

ERIC VIII.

other Manual Man

OLAUS the Tributary.

from being discouraged by that Prince's cruel and untimely Death, that he made open Profession of the Christian Religion. Some Authors reckon him the first Christian King of Sweden, because under his Reign there were several Churches built to the Honour of the true God, and the People were generally converted to the Christian Faith, by the Ministry of certain English Priests, who notwithstanding the seeming Purity of their Zeal, were accused of promoting their own Interest, and carrying on their politick Designs under the specious Pretext of propagating the Gospel. For 'twas by their Advice that Olaus made his Kingdom subject to the Holy-See,

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nd obliged his Subjects to pay a certain Tribute to he Pope, which was commonly called Peter's Pence, but his Successors soon grew weary of that religious sondage, and abrogated an Imposition that was bund to be burdensome to the People, and prejudital to the Crown.

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AMUND the Burner.

The Son and Successor of Olaus. He was firnamed the Burner, because he ordained that when any Man spired his Neighbour, his House should be burnt; from whence it may be observed that the Swedes were still a very rude and barbarous People about the beginning of the eleventh Age. This Prince was killed in a Battle against Canut the Rich, King of Denmark.

AMUND SLEMME.

The difference betwixt the Crowns of Sweden and 1031. Denmark concerning Schonen was terminated by a Treaty to the prejudice of the former, which made the King odious to his Subjects. For they could not endure that he should acknowledge that Province to belong to the Crown of Denmark, which they had always reckoned a part of Gothland. 'Tis almost impossible to read the History of these Nations without observing the many Advantages that a crafty Politician has over a blunt Soldier; for there is hardly one Treaty recorded in their Chronicles, in which a confidering Reader may not find several remarkable Instances of the Subtilty of the Danish Ministers in the Management of Negotiations. Their Wit did more Execution than the Swedish Valour; and with one dash of a Pen they could easily heal the Wounds they receiv'd by the Swords of their Enemies.

HAQUIN

HAQUIN the Red.

After the Death of Amund there was a warm Dif1041. pute about the Election of a new King. The Swedes
voted for Stenchil, whose Mother was Olaus the Tributary's Daughter: And the People of Gothland declar'd unanimously for their Country-man Haquin,
who was the Son of a Peasant, but celebrated for his
Valour and Courage. However the two Competitors
submitted to a triendly Agreement, tho' in those
Times such Controversies were wont to be decided
in a single Combat. Haquin, who was already very
antient, reign'd first, and left the Crown to Stenchil,
who was appointed to succeed him.

STENCHIL II.

and defend the establish'd Religion; but the Kingdom did not long enjoy the Blessing of so wise and pious a Prince. He less two Sons, who contended so eagerly about the Succession, that they took up Arms, and were both killed in the Dispute.

INGO III.

The whole Nation approv'd the Election of a Prince, who was worthy of their Esteem and Affection; for he was not inferior to his Predecessor either in Piety or Justice. He made an express Lawto abolish idolatrous Sacrifices, and endeavour'd to curb and subdue several petty Tyrants that oppress'd the People, but he perished in the Attempt; for he was surprized in his House, and barbarously murdered by the disaffected Party.

HALSTAN.

1064. Succeeded his Brother Ingo. He was naturally of a mild and gentle Temper; he took pleasure in doing

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ing good, and even had the Prudence and good Fortune to make the Swedes love and admire these peaceful Virtues.

PHILIP,

Succeeded his Father Halftan both in his Dignity 1080. and Virtues. Here the Chronicles begin to take notice of the illustrious Family of the Folquingians, who were intrusted with a very confiderable Share in the Government by several succeeding Princes.

INGO IV.

Succeeded his Father Philip, and imitated his Predecessors in his Zeal for the Advancement of Religion, and in the care he took to administer Justice, and put the Laws in execution against obstinate Offenders. He was poison'd by some Ostrogoth Lords who dreaded his Power and Justice.

Under the five last Reigns, Sweden enjoy'd a profound and uninterrupted Peace. This may be justly
reckon'd the Golden Age of that Monarchy, during
which the publick Tranquillity was neither disturb'd
by civil nor foreign Wars. And it ought to be observ'd that the People owed their Happiness to the
Wisdom and Moderation of those Princes, who were
equally careful to abstain from invading the Domimons of their Neighbours, and from incroaching
upon the Liberty and Privileges of their Subjects.

RAGUALD.

The Swedes were of too fierce and active a Temper to relish the soft Delights of Peace. They resolved to supply the Vacancy of the Throne by advancing a Prince that would furnish them with an Employment more suitable to their Genius; and in pursuance of that Resolution, made choice of Raguald, merely on the score of his Strength and of the largeness of his Stature. But they were soon convinced

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of their Imprudence in lodging the fovereign Au thority in the hands of a cruel and violent Prince who hated and contemn'd the Laws and Privilege of his Country, and made it his only care to extend the Prerogative of the Crown, and to establish an arbitrary and despotick Power, in a Country where the Kings were almost only consider'd as the Cap. tains or Generals of the People. They loved a warlike Prince, but could not endure a Tyrant; and fince he treated them as Slaves they resolved to treat him as an Enemy. According to the Custom of those Times, when the King entered into any Province, he receiv'd Hostages from the Inhabitants for the fecurity of his Person, and was obliged to give Hostages for the security of their Privileges. But the fierce and haughty Raguald, scorning to imitate his Predecessors, enter'd West-Gothland in Arms; and the People resolving to maintain so important a Ce remony, affaulted that impetuous Prince, and killed him in his Passage thro' their Territories.

SUERCHER II.

1140.

Raguald had mortify'd the Swedes so effectually and they were so sensible of their Imprudence in advancing a Prince of his Temper to the Throne, that they refolv'd to proceed with more Caution in the choice of a Successor. Suercher was elected by the unanimous Consent of the whole Nation, and was both an exact Administrator of Justice, and a zealous Promoter of Religion. But the Quiet and Happiness of his Reign was disturbed by the Extravagan cies of his lewd and unruly Son, who was a profelfed Enemy both to the Religion and Laws of his Country. He made an Irruption into Haland at the head of a Company of Robbers and other licentions Villains, the wicked Instruments of his criminal Passions; and seizing on the Wife and Sister of the Governor of that Province, abus'd them in a mol barbarou

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barbarous manner, and afterwards exposed them to the brutish Lust of his Followers. The Danes took up Arms to pursue the Ravisher; the Swedes would not affist a Prince whom they look'd upon as the scandal of their Nation; and Suercher soon after receiv'd the melancholy News of the Death of his unhappy Son, who was attacked and killed by the Danes, with his infamous Retinue. Nor was this the only Disaster that befel the unfortunate Suercher; for he was affassinated in his Sled by a Company of disastected Persons as he was going to Church with his Family and Servants. The illustrious Family of the Counts of Brabe reckon their Descent from this Prince.

The succeeding History and Chronology of the Swedish-Monarchy is more certain and exact.

ERIC IX.

After the Death of Suercher, the Voices were so equally divided at the Election, and each of the opposite Parties maintain'd their choice with so much Heat and Obstinacy, that Sweden was again separated into two distinct Kingdoms. The Inhabitants of both the Gothlands voted for Charles the Son of Suercher; but the rest of the Swedes declared for Eric, whose Posterity enjoy'd the sovereign Authority for the space of 200 Years. His Valour recommended him to their choice, and his Piety procured him the Title of a Saint after his Death. He entered Finland at the head of an Army; but that Expedition was not so much an Effect of his Ambition or Defire of Glory, as of his Zeal for propagating the Christian Religion. Nordid he content himself with opening a way to the Missionaries who were sent thither to preach the Gospel, but became an Apostle himself, and endeavour'd with all posfible

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fible Ardour and Application to compleat the Conversion of that People. He collected the antient Laws of the Kingdom into one Body, and added new Edicts or Statutes that were of excellent Impor. tance for the Advantage and Security of the Publick: But these peaceful Virtues were so far from gaining the Hearts of a People that were accustomed to live by robbing and plundering each other, that they were extremely incensed against their religious Prince for attempting to establish and execute the Laws of Justice and Equity at a Time and in a Country, in which Forceand Power were reckon'd fuffcient Arguments to excuse, and even to justify Injury and Oppression. The devout King Eric was barbarously affaffinated by his seditious Subjects; and the King of Gothland was suspected of encouraging, and corresponding with the Rebels.

CHARLES VII.

1162.

The Swedes advanc'd this Prince to the Throne, that the two Gothlands might be re-united to the Crown. He took all possible Care to keep his Subjects from suspecting that he had a Hand in the Death of his Predecessor. In pursuance of that Design, he began the Exercise of his Regal Authority by ordaining, that all the Laws of St. Eric shou'd be punctually observed: He recall'd Canut, that Prince's Son, who after his Father's Death had made his Escape into Norway: And to remove all the Pretexts that might be used for embroiling the Kingdom in a civil War, he made a Law that Canut should inherit the Crown after his Death, and that for ever afterwards the King should be chosen by turns out of the two Royal Families. Afterwards he erected several Monasteries, to gain the Esteem and Affection of the People, who were always extremely fond of such external Marks of Piety and Devotion. He

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He sent an Embassy to Rome to obtain from Pope Alexander III. the Title of Atch-bishop, and the Pallium for the Bishop of Upsal, who was Primate of the Kingdom. The Pope was easily prevail'd with to grant, or rather to sell him the favour he desir'd, according to the usual Maxims of the Court of Rome; and that Prelate was invested with the archiepitco-pal Dignity, on condition that the Estates of all those who died without Children in the Kingdom should be entail'd upon the Holy-See: but the Swedes soon grew weary of that religious Slavery, and freed themselves from so burdensome a Tribute.

CANUT.

Tho' King Charles had made a folemn Law to fetthe the Succession upon this Prince, his Ambition could not be fatisfied with the prospect of a Crown in Reversion. He levy'd Forces in Norway, and refolying at once to recover the Throne, and revenge the Death of his Father, he invaded Sweden, routed King Charles, kill'd him in the Battle, and by that Victory made himself Master of the Kingdom. He left no means unattempted to extirpate the whole Race of his Predecessor; but since 'twas never in the power of a Tyrant to secure his Usurpation but by the Death of his Successor, all the cruel Diligence with which he persecuted the Family of the late King, could not hinder the Swedes from electing Suercher the Son of that Prince, according to the Law by which 'twas ordained that the two Families should tnjoy the Crown by turns.

SUERCHER III.

This Prince imitating the barbarous Policy of his 1192.

Predecessor, order'd an exact search to be made for all the Relations and Posterity of St. Eric. But one X

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of those Princes escap'd his Fury, and rais'd an Army to make head against his Persecutor.

ERIC X.

He defeated King Suercher in a Battle, and after that Prince's Death obtain'd the Crown, which at that time was always the Reward of the Conqueror. As foon as he was fix'd upon the Throne, he endeavour'd to make a friendly Agreement with the Family of his Predecessor: in order to which he offer'd to re-establish the Law that was made by King Charles for regulating the Succession; and to convince the Posterity of that Prince that he really design'd to put the Treaty in execution, he appointed John the Son of Suercher to succeed him, excluding his own Son Prince Eric, who was oblig'd to content himself with a distant prospect of inheriting the Crown after the Death of Prince John.

JOHN I.

He conquer'd some places in Livonia, and endeavoured by force of Arms to make the Esthonians renounce the Idolatry that prevail'd among them: But the People of that Country looking upon their forc'd Conversion as a sort of Slavery, took up Arms and drove the Swedes out of their Province. In the mean time King John died in the Isle of Wiensingso, after he had reign'd three Years.

ERIC XI. called the Stammerer.

1223. He was the Son of Eric X. and obtain'd the Posfession of the Crown without the least Effusion of
Blood: It may be reckon'd a very rare Instance of
Moderation, that a royal Family should so tamely
divest themselves of the sovereign Authority, and
suffer a Prince of another House to mount the Throne
without Opposition. This Monarch had occasion
during his Reign to perform a very important Piece
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of Service to the Regency of Lubeck. The Danes befieg'd that City with a numerous Army, and shut up the Port with an Iron Chain, which was defended by a potent Fleet. But when the City was reduc'd to the utmost Extremity, the King of Sweden sent a confiderable number of Ships mann'd with Soldiers, under the Convoy of leveral Men of War; who beat the Danes, open'd a passage thro' their Squadrons, broke the Chain, with which the Mouth of the River Trave was block'd up, relieved the City with Men, Provisions and Ammunition; and by that seasonable and important Supply delivered the Republick from the Danish Yoak. The Regency, as a Testimony of the publick Gratitude for so signal a Deliverance, ordain'd that the Swedish Merchant Ships should from that time be exempted from the payment of Customs and Duties.

WALDEMAR.

The Family of King Suercher should have had their turn in the Election, by virtue of the Treaty con- 1251. cluded with the House of Eric. But it seems the Swedes had either forgotten or negelected that Agreement; for tho' Eric the Stammerer left no Issue, they elected Waldemar the Son of that Prince's Sifter, and of ferl or Count Birger, who was General of the Swedish Forces during the preceding Reign. It may perhaps appear strange that the Son, tho' an Infant, was prefer'd before his Father; but 'tis plain from the Swedish History that tho' the Kingdom was always Elective, 'twas the perpetual Custom of the People to chuse a Prince of the Royal Family, preferable to all the other Lords in the Kingdom. In the mean time the Count or Jerl Birger was intrusted with the Care of the Government, during the Minority of King Waldemar: And that wife Lord, who was his own Son's Minister, made it his principal Care to raise the Honour and Authority of the X 2 Crown,

Crown. He concluded a Peace with the neighbouring Princes, and then apply'd himself wholly to the contriving and pursuing of those Maxims that might make him absolute in the Kingdom. He built and fortify'd the City of Stockholm, instituted good and useful Laws, and exacted a punctual Observance of them. Upon Advice that some Lords began to grow jealous of his Authority, and to complain that he made an ill Use of it, he suppress'd those brooding Commotions, by ordering the principal Fomenters of 'em to be beheaded. Afterwards he marry'd the King his Son to Sophia the Daughter of Eric King of Denmark, that the Authority of his Family might be fecured by fo powerful an Alliance. As foon as the young Prince was of Age, he advanced his Father from the Dignity and Title of a Jerl to that of a Duke, as a Recompence of his paternal Care; and by his Father's Advice, he created his Brother Magnus Prince of Sudermania, Eric Prince of Smaland, and Benedict Prince of Finland. Birger having settled his Family, and establish'd his Son upon the Throne, died not long after; and the Peace and Happiness of Sweden ended with the Life of that Great Man.

King Waldemar repenting his Kindness to the Princes his Brothers, endeavoured to deprive 'em of the Estates he had bestowed on 'em by way of Appenage, especially Duke Magnus, whom he accus'd of aspiring to the Crown. These Animosities occasioned a furious intestine War, which was somented by the Danes, and ended in the Deseat and Abdication of King Waldemar, who was taken Prisoner, and after he had resign'd the Crown retir'd with his Danish Auxiliaries to Malmogen in the Province of

Schonen.

MAGNUS LADISLAS.

The Merit of this Prince entitled him to the Poffession of the Crown, which his Brother was neither able

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ble to preserve nor worthy to enjoy. In the Beginning of his Reign, he made it his Business to encrease his Revenues and diminish his Charge, as the surest way to establish his Authority. He made so strong an Interest in the Convention of the Estates, that the Sovereignty of all the Mines in the Kingdom, and of the four great Lakes, Meler, Wener, Weter, and Hielmer, and all the Duties or Rents of the disforested Lands were solemnly vested in the Crown.

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This wife Prince made use of so considerable an Augmentation of his Revenues to secure his Authonity against the natural Inconstancy of a Nation, that could neither live without a King, nor submit to the Dominion of a potent and resolute Prince. He innited several German Lords to his Court, and advanc'd 'em to the principal Offices in the Kingdom. The Promotion of these Strangers, and the Interest which the King had in foreign Countries made the Swedish Lords extremely uneasy, and at last irritated emto fuch a Degree that they affassinated all the Germans. The King was highly incens'd at so bold an Action, but had the Prudence to conceal his Indignation: In the mean time he made secret Levies, and s foon as he faw himself in a Condition to execute his Revenge, he furpriz'd the Male-contents, and caus'd their principal Ringleaders to be beheaded. The Spirit of Rebellion seem'd to be quite extinguish'd by the Severity of so terrible a Blow; and that wife and daring Prince would have certainly establish'd his Authority upon such sure Foundations, and advanc'd it to so great a height, that he might have bequeath'd an absolute Power to his Children, the Accomplishment of his Designs had not been prevented by his Death. He left three Sons, Birger, Eric, and Waldemar, the eldest of whom was not Il Years old.

BIRGER

BIRGER II.

During the Minority of this Prince, the Careof the Government was intrusted to Torckel Enutson, who made himself Master of Carelia, took Hexholm from the Russes, and fortified Wiburg, to coverthe neighbouring Places from the Incursions of that Pco. ple. After the King was of Age to undertake the Management of Affairs, he marry'd Meretta, the Daughter of Eric King of Denmark; Prince Waldemar his Brother took to Wife the Daughter of the Regent Enut fon, and Prince Eric marry'd Ingeburgh the Daughter of Haquin King of Norway. This Prince was fo far from being deter'd by the Fate of his Uncle King Waldemar, that he seem'drefolved to follow the same Methods which occasion'd all the Disorders that disturb'd the Reign of that Prince. He seiz'd on the Tithes, and imprison'd some Bishops, who took the Liberty to complain of his incroaching on their Privileges. Nor did the Princes his Brothers meet with a better Treatment; for instead of suffering them to live unmolested in their respective Governments, he endeavour'd to make 'em depend absolutely on the Court, and to reduce them to an entire Subjection to his arbitrary Commands. The injur'd Princes, perceiving the general Diffatisfaction of the People, took up Arms, and were follow'd by all those who were offended at the publick Violation of their Liberty and Privileges. In the mean time the King levy'd Forces to oppose the Designs of his Brothers, and was assisted by his Brother-in-Law the King of Denmark: But finding himself unable to resist the prevailing Faction, he resolv'd to execute his Designs by Treachery, since he could not depend upon the Success of his Arms. In pursuance of that unmanly Resolution, he invited his Brothers to Court, under the Pretext of a fincere Reconciliation; and as soon as he made himself Mafter

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Master of their Persons by that infamous Stratagem, he order'd them to be cast into a Dungeon, where

they were starv'd to Death.

The Swedes abhorring the Baseness and Inhumanity of their treacherous Sovereign, took up Arms immediately, advanc'd Magnus, the Son of Duke Eric, to the Throne, and march'd in pursuit of King Birger, who had the Missortune to see his Army deseated, and his Son taken Prisoner by his Enemies. That unhappy Prince was made a Sacrifice to the Fury of the incens'd Multitude, who cut off his Head to deliver Magnus from so dangerous a Competitor; and his miserable Father dreading the same Fate, sled to Denmark, where he died in an obscure and ignominious Retreat.

The Reader will find, at the Beginning of this Work, the Names of the succeeding Princes, with a short Ascount of their Actions.

1330. Magnus Smeck, the Son of Duke Eric.

1372. Albert of Mecklenburg.

of Denmark, and Queen of the Three Northern Nations.

1424. Eric XIII. Duke of Pomerania, Sovereign of the three Kingdoms of the North.

1441. Christopher of Bavaria, King of the three Northern Nations.

1445. Charles Canut son, a Swedish Lord, elected Koof Sweden and Norway.

1457. Christiern of Oldenburg, Ancestor of the prefent King of Denmark, King of the three Northern Nations.

1470. Steno I. King Canutson's Nephew, Administrator of the Kingdom of Sweden.

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1504. Suanto Sturius, Administrator of Sweden.

1512. Steno II. the Son of Suanto, Administrator.

1520. Christiern II. Sovereign of the three King. doms of the North.

and afterwards King of Sweden, procures the Crown to be entail'd upon his Posterity.

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Whether the

Kingdom of FRANCE,

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Establishment of that Monarchy,

Has been an

Hereditary or Elective STATE.

By the Abbot DE VERTOT.

July 27. 1717.







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ENQUIRY

Whether the

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From the

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Has been an

Hereditary or Elective STATE.



UNDERTAKE to consider a Question, which has been often treated of by our most learned Criticks, and which has hitherto been the Occasion of various Opinions; but, according to my Mind, they

May be reduced to Three Chief Ones.

According to the first Opinion, the French Crown has always been Hereditary in the Three Races. The Jurisconsult Hotman, in his Franco Gal-

lia ;

lia; Du Haillan in his General History of France; and Larrey, of whom we have an History of England, in his Differtation about the Origin of Parliaments; do, on the contrary, pretend, That under the Two First Races this Crown was merely Elective.

Father Daniel, in order to reconcile so different Opinions, thinks, that one must distinguish the Times, and the several Epochas of the Monarchy. He afferts, That the Form of Government has not been the same under the Three Races; that the Crown was purely Hereditary under the First Race; Elective under the Second; and that it became again Hereditary under the Third.

Such is the Opinion which that Learned Historian pretends to establish, in a particular Differtation, which is to be found in the First Volume of

his French History.

This Differtation has been the Cause, that the Abbot Des Tuilleries has composed another, under the Title of Explication of the Election of the antient Kings of France: Wherein he affirms against Father Daniel, That the Kingdom of France was no less Elective under the First Race of our Kings, than under the Second; nor less Hereditary under the Second, than under the First. But he pretends at the same Time, not only, that none were elected but of the Reigning Family; but also, that the Eldest of that Family were always preferred to all others: The same Principle or Motive, says M. Des Tuilleries, p. 18. which induced the French to refuse for their Kings any other than the Sons of their Monarchs, did equally engage them, in order to avoid Difcords and Dissensions, to choose them always according as the Order of their Birth did appoint or design them to reign. By these Restrictions, M. Des Tuilleries, falls again into the first Opinion of those who maintain a Lineal and Hereditary Succession in the Three

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Races, and he differs only from their Opinion by his Elocution, calling Election, what was, as he owns it himself, but a mere Consent of the Great Men, and which did not even require any Deliberation: these are his own Words; for if there was neither Debate nor Voting, as he tells us at the End of his Treatise, 'tis also certain, that there was no Election, because the Eldest of the Reigning Line were necessarily to be Elected, and such a Necessity excludeth the Liberty, which constitutes the Essence of Election.

Such are almost the different Opinions which divide our Criticks. But I am bold enough to propose another System, and which is partly contrary to those different Opinions, and which I look upon as a new Sort of Discovery, and therefore ought to suspend the more our Belief: But Proofs must decide of it. However, I undertake to prove against Hotman and his Adherents, that the French Crown under the first Race, has always been Hereditary, wherein my Opinion and Proofs agree with those of Father Daniel; but at the same time, I maintain against the same Father Daniel, That in this first Race, that Hereditary Succession did not exclude a true Right of Election: and, on the other fide, I hope to demonstrate, against the Opinion of M. Des Tuilleries, That this Right of paffive Election, did not belong to the fole Person of the eldest Son of the reigning House, as that learned Critick pretends; but that the Choice of the Nation might fall indifferently upon all the Princes of the Royal Blood, in a certain Degree; and that those Elections have often been made, without any Regard had to the ruling Line, and to the Rank of the Prince who was Elected.

In the Second Part of this Discourse, I will treat of the Form of Government observed during the second Race; and I will endeavour to prove, a-

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gainst Father Daniel, and M. Des Tuilleries, that there were equally, as in the first Race, both Heredity in the reigning House, and Election, in relation to the sole Princes of the Blood, who might

be Competitors in those Elections.

And lastly, I will endeavour to prove, in my Third Part, that those Uses and Customs have been equally observed under the third Race, in relation to Hereditary Succession, whereby they are become fundamental Laws of the State; and that the only Difference that has been introduced into it, is, that Hugh Capet, the Head of that third Race, and his first Successors, Philip I. being excepted, in order to prevent among their Children, the Divisions which do but too often arise in an Election, did, even in their Life-time, use the provident Care, to take their eldest Sons into Partner. ship of the Crown, by the Great Mens Consent, which insensibly destroy'd the Right of Election; and by that Politick Device, the Lineal and Agnatick Succession, as Jurisconsults call it, and such as it is observed even now from Seven hundred Years, has been established by little and little as a fundamental Law in the reigning House.

This is my Scheme: but before I proceed any further, I declare, That I would not have undertaken to handle this Question about the Succession to the Crown, if the same Matter had not been already treated of in publick Writing, by Antient and Modern Authors. After such a Protestation, I beg leave to say, That 'tis very difficult to acquire a perfect Knowledge of the History of a Nation, unless we trace it back to its first Origin, and are eareful to be fully acquainted with the Principles of its Government; for except we are well apprized of what happened in the Foundation of a State, we are often apt to take Customs which have vary'd, or some singular Events, as so many sundary

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mental Laws, and even Infractions of the Law; for the Law itself. Now in order to avoid that Inconvenience, and clearly to establish the Succession of the Crown during the two first Races, I think it would be necessary to go back to the first French Kings, which reigned on the other Side of the Rhine, and to inquire into their Descents or Genealogy, as far as antient History can lead us.

But not to speak of the Kings Genebaudes and Mallobaudes, whose Ancestors and Posterity are unknown to us; certain it is, That Efatech did reign over the French, about the Year 285. when the Emperor Maximianus restored Genebaudes to the Throne, and granted Peace to Esatech: That Ascaric and Radagasius reigned after him: That Priam succeeded to them; that this Prince was Father of Marcomir, and Marcomir of Pharamond. Prosper relates in his Chronicle, that he does not think any. Historian can go higher as to this House, than to Priam; Priamus quidam regnat in Francia, quantum altius colligere potuimus. An old Manuscript of the Salick Law, fays, that Pharamond had Two Sons, * Clenus and Clodion; Pharamundus genuit Cleno 3 Cludiono. 'Tis not known what became of Clenus; but as for Clodion, he succeeded to Pharamond. Meroves, a Relation of Clodion reigned after him, and Childeric, eldest Son to Meroveé, was his Successor. Clovis, as Aimoin says, succeeded to his Father Childeric, by an Hereditary Right; Huic bereditario jure successit supradictus Clodovæus. Gregery of Tours, the antientest of our Historians, and who lived under the Reign of those Grandsons of Clovis, speaking of the Beginnings of our Nation which are so dark, fays, "That the French did " create to govern them, some hairy Kings of the

^{*} De hujus stirpe quidem Meroveum Regem suisse asserunt. Cujus silius suit Childericus, Greg. 1. 2. c. 9. Francos Reges crinitos super se creavisse de prima, & ut ita dicam nobiliori suorum familià.

" First and most Noble Family amongst them;" and to shew that the Inheritance was already established in it, he adds, "Of which Family was "King Clovis." And if to the Authority of foancient an Historian of our own Nation, we add the Testimony of Foreigners, it will be found in Agathias, a Contemporary Author, that the Law of the French, did call the Children of Kings to the Succession of the Crown. Patria Lex, fays he, speaking of the young Theobald, Son of Theodebert, eum ad regnum vocabat: And to strengthen the Testimony of a Greek Historian, by the Opinion of a Latin Author, who is almost as antient, we read in St. Gregory the Great, Homil. 10. in Evang. That among the French, as well as among the Persians, there was nothing but Birth that made them Kings. In Persarum, Francorumque terrà reges genere prodeunt, fays that Holy Pope.

But to return to Historical Facts and Proofs, † Clovis was but fifteen Years old when he succeeded the King his Father. It the Election had been open to all the Lords and Chiefs of the Nation, would they have preferred a young Man, of fifteen Years old, to so many Captains, who were then at the Head of that Warlike Nation? That Prince dying after the Conquest of most Part of the Gauls, the four Princes his Sons, divided amongst themselves the whole Body of the Monarchy. Quatuor ejus. filii regnum ejus accipiunt, says

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[†] According to the Opinion and Chronology of Father Daniel, Clovis was born in 466. Ascended the Throne in 481. Entred into Gaul in 486. died in 511. The fifth Council of Orleans was held in 549, in the 38th Year of the Reign of Childebert, Son and Successor of Clovis.

Take off those 38 Years, and it will remain 511.

According to Gregory, lib. 2. c. 43. Clovis lived 45 Years; fo that he must be born about the Year 466.

He reigned 30 Years; according to the same Historian; so that he began to reign when he was 15 Years old, about the Year 481.

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Gregory of Tours, lib. 2. c. 27. & inter se æqua lance dividunt. How can such a Division made by those four Princes, be reconciled with a State wherein the Right of Election is received, and wherein they might have had fuch formidable Competitors? Clotharius the First of that Name, and the last of those Princes, by the Death of his Brothers, who died without Male Issue, re-united in himself the whole Body of the Monarchy, which his Children, after his Death, again divided amongst themselves, leaving, as an Historian says, his Body to the Earth, and his States to his Children; Corpusterræ, regnum filis relinquens: But an irrefragable Argument to prove that the Crown was absolutely Hereditary, is, that Chilperic I. Son of that same Clotharius, being dead, the French fet on the Throne his Son, who was scarce Four Months old, and acknowledged him for their Sovereign, as may be feen in Gregory of Tours, lib. 7. Priores quoque de regno Chilperici, ut erat Ansovaldus, & reliqui ad filium ejus qui erat, ut superius diximus, quatuor mensium se collegerunt quem Clotiarum vocitaverunt.

A Fact which is so positive, and a Proof which is so precise, need no Commentary. Did it ever come into any Body's Thoughts, in an Assembly called for an Election, and in a Nation abounding with Warlike Generals, to elect as their King, a Child of four Years Old, if the Crown was not Hereditary? And as a further Proof that the French were inviolably attached to the Blood of their Kings, is, that Grimoald, Son of the elder Pepin, and Mayor of the Palace of Austrasia, having depos'd the young King Dagobert, who was yet a Child, and fet up in his room his own Son called Childebert; the People of Austrasia arrested both the Father and the Son, and conducted them, loaded with Chains, to Clovis II. King of Neustria, who condemned the Father to Death. Franci verò indignantes Grimoaldo insidias parant, eumque captum Regi Francorum Glodovæo ad condemnandum deducunt, ob reatum quem in Dominum suum exercuerat vitam valido mortis cruciatu siniunt.

And if we follow the Series of our History, we shall find at every Step, some new Proofs, that the Crown was, as it were, tied solely to the reigning

Family.

An Adventurer, named Gondebaud, and who called himself Clotaire's Son, having drawn to himself a powerful Party in France, and boasting to Magnulphus, Bishop of Bourdeaux, that he would establish the Seat of his Dominion at Paris; "God forbid, answered that wise Prelate, that such a thing should happen, as long as there shall be in France some Prince of the Royal Blood;" which is a most certain Proof, that the Crown was tied to that illustrious and venerable Blood. Nunquam, ait Pontifex, as Gregory of Tours relates, tu ista impediente Christo complebis, quamdiu quispiam Regii superfuerit sanguinis.

Theobald the Young, Son to Theodebert, already named, was born paralytick, and so weak, that during his whole Reign, he was continually dying; and nevertheless his Infirmities did not hinder him from succeeding to the King his Father. If the Crown had been Elective, had our Ancestors, who were then so Warlike, no other Person in the Nation to chuse for their Sovereign, but a Man

who never had the Use of his Limbs?

Dagobert II. being dead, and the Mayors of the Palace being Masters of the Government, they were, notwithstanding their usurped Power, always forced to place on the Throne some Prince of the Royal Blood. Rainfroy, who was then Mayor, did, accordingly, take out of the Cloyster, a Monk of that illustrious Family, called in the Convent, Brother Daniel, and set him upon the Throne

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the the Throne of Neustria, under the Name of Chilperick II. Now I ask any unprejudiced Person, If the Hereditary Succession had not been an inviolable Law then, and if the Crown had not belonged folely to the Family of Clovis, whether, in so vast Kingdom as France was then, which reached from the Western Ocean to the Rhetian Hills, and from the Alps to the Pyrenean Hills: Whether, I by, in so many States and Provinces, which then made up our Monarchy, the Chiefs and Noblemen of France, being Masters of chusing to themselves Sovereign, would have preferred to so many great Generals, whose Names and Exploits are handed down to us, sometimes a Paralytick, sometimes a sucking Child, or a Monk, who must be forced to abandon his most holy Engagements?

If the Crown had been Elective, why did not the French give it rather to Erchinoald, to the two Pepins, to Charles Martel, who all of them were great Generals, and under whose Ministry the

Kingdom did exceedingly flourish? So true it is, that the French, according to the Example of the Germans, whose Posterity they were, did always chuse their King out of the reigning Family: Reges ex nobilitate, as Tacitus says, and their Generals by way of Election, and for the Sake of their Abilities: Duces vero ex virtute sumunt. The Mayors of the Palace were Elected by the French alone; i. e. by the Body of the Nobility: They themselves made Choice of the General, under whose Banner they were to fight. Fredegarius has even transmitted to us the Form of that Election: But as for our Kings, they must be born to the Purple, they must be Princes of the Blood; and even it is to be observed, that in Marculph's Formule, the Name of Kings was often given to them, as foon as they were born. In a Word, if we look on the first Part of our History, and on the first Race Race of our Kings, we shall find therein, 36 Kings who reigned, either in Neustria or Austrasia, in the Space of 333 Years, and who were all of the Posterity of King Meroveus; wherefore, that Race has been called Merovingiana; and yet the French, during so long an Interval of Time, and in such hard Circumstances, wherein some pretend, that there were in the ruling Family none but Minors, or weak and infirm Princes, did never prefer the greatest Captains, to those Minors, or pretended weak and infirm Princes: And, therefore, I take this to be an unquestionable Proof, that the Crown was

Hereditary.

But what do the Sticklers for the pretended and imaginary Right of Election, oppose to so many authentick Proofs? On what Foundation, and on what Arguments do Hotman, Du Haillan, and Lar. rey, pretend to establish their System? They say, That all the Kings of France, down to Hugh Capet, have been Elected by the French; who, as they affert, did keep to themselves that Right and Privilege of Electing, Banishing, and Deposing their Kings: These are almost their own Words. But what Instances do they give of it? They alledge for the first Race, the Example of Childeric I. Clovis's Father, against whom the French revolted, and that of Childeric III. a young Prince, the last of that first race, whom Pepin the Short deposed; as if one or two Examples recorded in our History, were fufficient to lay the Foundation of a Right; and some few Seditions and transitory Rebellions, could be a Precedent against the Fundamental Laws of a State, and the constant Practice of many Ages. Just as if, when the Question is about the Opinion of an Author, any one should oppose to his Principles, clearly explained in a Hundred different Passages, a fingle Passage of the same Author, and drawn from a Place wherein the same Matter is not expresly treated

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of. It is true, that the French, who had not yet ormed their Government into a complete Monarby, being offended at the dissolute Manners of childeric I. did drive him away, and placed in his Room the Patrician Ægidius, who commanded in hat Part of Gaul which was yet subject to the Roman Empire; but one of the Authors who relates this Event, and was very well acquainted with the Customs of the Nation, does not omit to observe, that fuch a Revolt was as odious as unjust; Franci nlisto Childerico Ægidium Principem Romanorum elecaverunt super se Regem, tenentes consilium non bonum, simisque inutile & absurdum. Which is a Proof. that fuch an Undertaking of those Franks, tho' they were not then formed into a settled Monarchy. was looked upon as unjust and extraordinary, with negard to the Usages and Customs of the Nation.

As for the forced Abdication of Childeric III. 'tis well known, that this young Prince was opposed by the Cabal of Pepin the Short, Mayor of the Palace, who usurped the Throne of his Master; and we do not think fit to fay any Thing more of the Son of Charles Martel, and of the Father of Charlemain. Let it suffice, that we have proved, that all the Kings of the first Race, descended from the Family of Meroveus, and the Blood of Clovis: And this does unquestionably establish the Hereditary Succession in the reigning Family. But 'tis no less true, that these Princes did not ascend the Throne but by the Choice of the Nation; infomuch that there were, at the same Time, both Succession and Election. Succession as to the reigning family, as we have faid; and Election, as to the leveral Princes, whom the chief Men of the State and of the Nation selected from the Royal Family, to ascend the Throne of the French Monarchy: And this is the Second Head I have undertaken to prove.

Father

Father Daniel having mentioned the Opinion of Du Haillan, as to the Right of Election during the first Race; adds, "Other Authors, on the contrary, pretend, that the French Empire was even then Hereditary, as it is now; that the Sons of the Kings, according to the Usage of the Nation, did succeed to their Fathers; that for

want of Male Issue, the Brothers did succeed, and for want of these, the nearest Relations. I

take, says Father Daniel, this second Opinion to be very true; and that of Du Haillan to be very false, at least as to the first Race." These are the

Words of this Modern Historian.

For my Part, I look upon those Two Propositions to be equally false. I have just now proved against Du Haillan, that from the Beginning of the Monarchy, and even before the Franks had croffed the Rhine, the Crown was Hereditary. It remains to prove against Father Daniel, as to that first Race, that although that Crown was Hereditary, yet it was not Hereditary as it is now, as Father Daniel afferts; and that the French submitted themselves, as we do now, to prefer the Sons to the Brothers, and the Brothers to the Cousins, and to the nearest Relations. In a Word, that the Nation had kept to itself the Right of choosing out of the reigning Family that Prince who seemed the fittest for Governing, without having any regard to the Line and Degree he was in. This I am to prove, and I hope to convince my Readers of the Truth thereof, not only by a Series of very plain Facts, but even by very formal Laws, furnished to us by the first Kings of the second Race, and which had no other Foundation, as it will appear, but on Customs and Uses that were constantly observed during the first Race.

As we have run through the whole History of the first Race, in order to establish the Hereditary Right Right of must tur same Tibegin by dion's Su It is p who ou

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Right of that Family in the reigning House, we must turn back, in order to disintangle there, at the same Time, the Right of Election; and we will begin by Meroveus the Head of that Race, and Clo-

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It is proved by History, that Clodion had two Sons, who outlived him, but did not succeed him. Priscus, Contemporary Author, relates, That one of the Reasons why Attila King of the Huns, fell upon the Gauls, with that innumerable Multitude of Barbarians he had along with him; was, the Discord there was amongst the Children of Clodion after his Death. Francos bello lacessendi occasionem ei subministrat Regis illorum obtus & de regno inter liberos ejus orta dissentio.

And yet none of them reigned in France; for it was Meroveus who was Elected: Quo defuncto Meroveus ad regendum populum eligitur. And that Meroveus was looked upon as being related to Clodion; De bujus stirpe quidam Meroveum Regem fuisse asserunt, as Gregory of Tours relates it, lib. 2. c. 9. It was not then the Degree of Birth which regulated

the Order of Succession.

But as the French Monarchy was then, as it were, just in its Infancy, let us pass to those Times where its easier to perceive the constant Form of our Go-

vernment.

Every body knows, that in the Time of Clovis, Grandson to Meroveus, there were several French Kings among the Gauls. Sigebert King of Coln, Ragmacarius King of Cambray, Regnomer King of Mans Cararic, but the Situation of whose Dominions is unknown, yet were all of them related to Clovis, and of the same Family, as Gregory of Tours says. Tho' Clovis had embraced Christianity, yet being still Ambitious, and Blood-thirsty, as most Conquerors are, he resolved to be rid of all those Princes. He begun by Sigebert King of Coln; he addressed himself to his Son, and sent him Word, That

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That if the King his Father should die, he would willingly use his Interest to make him his Successor Si ille moreretur, recte tibi cum amicitià nostrà Regnum illius redderetur. Chloderic, Sigebert's Son, under stood easily the Meaning of those Words, and so that cruel Son caused his Father to be murdered when he was a Hunting. Clovis treated him just in the same manner; for not long after, he caused him to be affaffinated by other Ruffians. After that he went into Sigebert's Dominions, and there called an Assembly, wherein he set forth the Murder of the Father and of the Son, and then demanded, that being related to those Two Princes, they should chuse him for their King; which the Great Men of the State, and the whole Nation, confented to. Francisci, plaudentes tam palmis quam vocibus, eum clipeo evectum super se Regem constituunt, says Gregory of Tours. By the Narration of this Event, and by the Discourse of Clovis to Chloderic, 'tis plain, that a Son wanted both Friends and Interest, to succeed to his Father: Moreover, 'tis also to be obferved that Clovis did not ask the Crown of Coln, by reason of his being the nearest Relation, but only to be chosen by the Assembly of the Peoplehe had called together. The Great Men of the State did not dispute with him that Crown, because he was known to be a Relation of the late Kings; and that such a Relation was necessary for any Man to be Competitor or Candidate in an Election. It was by the same Right of Affinity, that one Munderic pretended to have a Share of Clovis's Succession. He was followed, fays Gregory of Tours, by a Multitude of Peasants, who took their Oath to be faithful to him as fuch; Mundericus, qui se parentem Regum afferebat, egressus copit seducere populum suum dicens, Princeps ego sum, sequimini me, & erit vobis Sequebatur autem eum rustica multitudo, dantes Sacramentum fidelitatis, honorantes eum ut Regem. The

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The French Nation were so fully persuaded of the Right they had to chuse their King, provided that they made use of that Right in savour of a Prince of the Royal Blood, that Chilperic I. Grandson to Clovis, having made himself hated by reason of his Cruelty, they gave the Crown to his Brother Sigebert I. Ad Sigebertum legationem mittunt, ut ad eos veniens derelicto Childerico super se insum regem stabilirent. Veniente autem illo ad villam, cui nomen est Victoriacum, collectus est ad eum omnis exercitus, impositumque super clipeo sibi regem statuunt. Here's a Brother, who, by an unanimous Consent, was set on the Throne of his Brother: And in the tollowing Instance, we shall see a Cousin preferred

to the Children of the late King.

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Theodoric King of Austrasia being dead; Queen Brunehault, Great Grandmother to the Children of that Prince undertook to fet Sigebert the Eldest of them, on the Throne of Austrasia. But having heard that Clotarius II. King of Neustria, and Coufin of her Great Grandchildren, did cabal in the Kingdoms of Austrasia and Burgundy to be elected King; that he had even a great Number of Adherents; and that he was coming to the Borders of the Country with a numerous Army, in order to animate those who stood by him; that old Princess lent him Ambassadors, to beg of him to retire, and to permit the Sons to succeed to their Father. Contestans ei ut se de regno Theuderici quod filiis reliquerat removeret. What did Clotarius answer to this? That he was not Master of that Crown to yield it to Sigebert; that the Queen ought to address herself to the French Electors; and that, for his Part, he would submit to whatever should be agreed upon in that Assembly. Brunechildæ mandabat judicio Francorum Electorum, quicquid præcedente Domino à Francis inter eosdem predicabitur, pollicetur sese adimplere.

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There's certainly a Right of Election very well establish'd, and wherein the Cousin gets the better of the Sons of the late King. But it must also be observed in this Example, and in all those mentioned by Historians, that none were ever Competitors, but those who were of the Royal Blood; tho' History mentions a great many Austrasian and Burgundian Lords, who might have been Competitors in this Election, if it had not been for the fole Princes of the Royal Blood. But let us go on and follow our History: 'Tis well known that it was customary, in those Days, to give the Name of King to the King's Son, and even in his Father's Life-time; and that Custom was grounded on this; That those young Princes were destinated to reign, and that the French did commonly affign to each of them a Part of the Monarchy. Such were the Kingdoms of Paris, of Orleans, of Metz, and of Soissons: 'Twas, indeed, always the same Monarchy, but whose Provinces yielded Obedience to feveral Princes of the same Family; and those particular States are known in History, under the Names of the Kingdoms of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy.

Dagobert, Son to Clotarius, just now mentioned, who already reigned in Austrasia, during the Life of Clotarius II. his Father, having heard he was dead, and searing lest his Brother, Prince Aribert, should cause himself to be elected King of Neustria; that Prince, as Fredegarius says, sent into that Kingdom several Lords, to get for him the Votes of the Nation, and to induce them to chuse him for their King. Missos in Burgundiam direxit ut suum deberent regimen eligere. Dagobert was well served, and was elected King of the Three Kingdoms against

Aribert.

'Tis visible that in this, as well as in the preceding Examples, there was an Election made, but in this this Ell Sons of rius fay and Clo fa; am the Kingembled him up & de E

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this Election, none were Competitors but the Two Sons of the late King. Dagobert dying, as Fredegatius says, left Two Sons behind him, viz. Sigebert, and Clovis II. Sigebert was already King in Austrasia, and as for young Clovis, all the Great Men of the Kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy, being assembled in the Castle of Massolac, did, as he says, set him upon the Throne. Omnes Proceeds de Neuster & de Burgundia eum Mussolaco villa sublimant in regum.

Clovis II. had Three Sons, Clotarius III. Childenic II. and Thierri I. Clotarius was King of Neustria, and died without issue: Childeric King of Austrasa, succeeded him in the Kingdom of Neustria; and saving been murdered, his Son was not set in his Room: But the French made Choice of Thierri his Brother, and the Third Son of Clovis II. By these Examples 'tis plain, That the Birth-right was not much considered, and that the Austrasians, Neustrians, and Burgundians, being faithful to the Blood of Clovis, did not think that they were desective in their Fidelity, if they did but set on the Throne a Prince of his Blood, although without any Regard and, either to the Rank or Degree of Birth. Here's anew Proof of it.

Dagobert II. being dead, the French, instead of giving the Crown to his Son Thierri II. forced out of the Cloister, Prince Daniel, Son to Childeric II. who had been murdered; and when he had let his Hair grow, which was the Mark of the Princes of the Blood, he was placed on the Throne, and took the Name of Chilperic II.

Charles Martel, Mayor of the Palace in Austrafa, instead of acknowledging Chilperic II. propos'd to the Austrasian Lords, to chuse a King for their Nation, and they elected a Prince of the Merovegiin Family, called Clotarius; but Historians have not told us whose Son he was, nor in what Degree

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he was related to the Crown; which is an Argument that the fole Quality of Prince of the Royal Blood, was sufficient to create a Capacity of becoming King.

After the Death of Chilperic II. just now mentioned, they called to the Succession of the Crown, the aforesaid Thierri, Son to Dagobert II. and he was called Thierri of Chelles, from the Place in which

he had been brought up.

The Death of this Prince, was followed by an Interregnum of Five Years, and Pepin and Carloman, Mayors of the Palace, or Dukes or Princes of the French, purposely suffer'd the Throne to bevacant, to try the Mind of the French, and to see whether they would be without Kings, or whether they would permit them to place the Crown on their own Heads; but being sensible of the Nation's Inclination for the Blood of Clovis, they refolved to fill the Royal Throne with a young Prince called Childeric III. who, some say, was Son of Thierri II. others of Chilperic II. and others of Clotarius, whom Charles Martel had set on the Throne of Austrasia. All these Instances shew, that the French, in the Choice of their Sovereign, had no Regard either to the Line, or to the Degree of Proximity, if the elected Prince was but known to be a Prince of the Royal Blood.

It was commonly the King their Father who gave them that August Name, by commanding them to wear that long woven Head of Hair, which was, as it were, the Mark of their Birth, and a natural Diadem. But notwithstanding this Distinction, he could not destinate them for his Successors, unless the Consent of the Chief Men, and of the Nation, should intervene. This we learn of the Author of the Formulæ, who lived in the Seventh Century, and whose Work is a precious Repository of our ancient Customs. That Writer has transmit-

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ed to us a Copy of the Proclamation, which our former Kings directed to the Earls of each Town, give them Notice of the Name of their Son, whom they appointed either for their Partner in the Regal Power, or for their Successor, Ille Rex, illi Comiti Dum & nos una cum consensu Prowium nostorum, in regno nostro illo gloriosum filium softrum illum regnare præcipimus, &c. By this old Act 'tis plain; that in order to fet a Prince on the French Throne, the Consent of the Chief Men of the State was no less necessary, than the Authority of his Father: That those Two Consents were equally required, and did concur in the fame Election; and that if the elected Prince, had by his Birth an hereditary Right to the Crown, he was beholden mone but to the Nation, for his being often preferred to his Brothers, and other nearest Relations. This was to be proved, both against Father Danid, and M. Des Tuilleries. Let us now come to the Second Race, and let us fee whether it be true, s Father Daniel pretends, That the hereditary Sucoffion has been abolished, to make Room for a first Election.

Almost whatever is to be seen in this Part of our History, says Father Daniel, gives us the Notion of an Elective Kingdom. First, 'tis certain, adds that Historian, that Pepin, Head of that Family, was made King by Election, and that by the same Election, the Right of the King's Sons to the Crown was abolished, i. e. the Crown ceased to be

Hereditary.

I easily agree to the first Proposition, viz. That Pepin came to the Crown only by Way of Election, and in the Beginning of a new Race, he could not come to it any other Way. Every thing must have a Beginning; and both Pharamond and Hugh Capet, the one Head of the First, and the other of the Third Race; and of which Two Races Father

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Daniel does not dispute the hereditary Succession; these Two Princes did nevertheless ascend the Throne but by the elective Way. It was in that Time, says Fredegarius, that the most excellent and high Lord Pepin was set on the Throne, by the Votes of all the French; Quo tempore una cum consilio & consensu omnium Francorum præcelsus Pepinus

sublimatur in regno.

Let us fee whether the Historians of the First and Third Races speak after another Manner. French, as the Author of the Exploits of our Kings fays, did elect Pharamond, Son to Marcomir, and did fet on the Throne a King with long Hair. Franci elegerunt Pharamundum filium ipsius Marcomiri, & levaverunt eum super se Regem crinitum. But let us come to Hugh Capet, the Head of the Third Race. in which the hereditary Succession to the Crown was never called in Question. Glaber, a Contemporary Author, speaking of the Election of Hugh Capet, after the Death of Lotharius and Lewis, the last Kings of the Second Race, uses the same Words he had made use of, speaking of Pharamond's Election. All the great Men of the States, as that Historian says, being met together, did confecrate and acknowledge Hugh for their King. Mertuis Lothario ac Ludovico Regibus totius Francia reg. ni dispositio incubuit Hugoni Parisiensis Duci filio, &c. cujus frater erat nobilissimus Burgundiæ Dux Henricus, qui simul cum totius Regni Primatibus convenientes prædictum Hugonem in Regem ungi fecerunt.

In these Two Elections, no Act is to be seen betwixt the French, and Pharamond, or Hugh Capet, whereby the Nation has granted the Crown to their Posterity. That Right of hereditary Succession is sounded but on a tacit Contract, and on an immemorial Possession; but which, as to the Government of States, is a Kind of sundamental Law. And so we must not conclude from Pepin's Election, as

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father Daniel does, that such an Election had abrogated the preceding Right of hereditary Succession. That Prince was elected to reign according to the Custom of the Nation, and after the same Manner his Predecessors had reigned. He was set on the Throne with Queen Bertha, says Fredegarius, according as the ancient Order and Use prescribes it. Una cum Regina Bertradana, ut antiquitus ordo depos-

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If the French had thought fit to change that ancient Use; if they had given the Crown to Pein alone; and if they had excluded his Descendants; or that they had obliged his Sons to stand equally with the great Men of the State, in the Competinon for the Crown in a general Election; we should and some Marks thereof in the Historians; and it would be but reasonable in Father Daniel, who has espoused Du Haillan's Opinion for this Second Race, to shew us those Marks and Signs. have proved, that in the first Race, the Crown had always been * hereditary in the Family of Merove-11. Had the French been willing to change that Form of Government in the Second Race, would not that Passage and Change of an hereditary to an elective Crown, have been marked by some Disputes and Oppositions? Can they, so easily, in a great Kingdom change the Order of the Royal Succession? And whenever such Changes happened among other Nations, did not Historians take Care to relate the Reasons and Motives of it, to set down what happened thereupon in the Assembly of the States of each Nation? And would our own Writers have been filent concerning fo great Events?

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^{*} Omnibus penè gentibus notum gentem Francorum Reges ex successione habere. Fulco archiep, Rhemensis in Flodoardo, l. 4 c. 5.

But the Reason of the Mistake of Du Hailan, Hotman, and their Adherents, and of Father Daniel after them, is, That seeing in most Historians, especially of the Second Race, the Word Election, they did not consider, that that Election, as well during the Second Race as during the First, did concern only those who were of the reigning Family. And they were confirmed in that Opinion, because they beheld on the Throne Two Kings, who were not of the Carlian Family: An Event, whereof we are to relate the Motives and Reasons, by considering

the Objections of Father Daniel.

The First Objection seems too weak to take up much Time in explaining and refolving it. The Kings of the First Race, says that Author, cameto the Crown by the Right of their Birth. Reges ex genere prodeunt: Whereas Æginard, says he, speaking of the Manner how Charlemain and Carloman his Son, had ascended the Throne, relates, that it happened by God's Will, Divino nutu. It is true, that Charlemain and Carloman did not come to the Crown but by Way of Election; but that Election expressed by our Historians in these Words, cum consensu Optimatum, regarded only the Sons of Kings. They had no Foreign Competitors. The Competition was not opened to the other Lords of the Kingdom, as I am to prove by express Laws. And if these Words, By the Order of God, nutu Divino, were a Proof of the Right of passive Election for all the Lords without Distinction, that Way of arguing would prove a little too much; for fince our Kings at present do make use of the same Set Form, and that they give themselves the Title of Kings by the Grace of God, it would follow, that they ascend the Throne only by Way of Election; and yet 'tis well known that the Crown is merely hereditary.

Father Daniel, in order to justify that general Right of passive Election, pretends, that Pepin

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Charlemain, and Lewis le Debonnaire, did take the provident Care to associate to themselves, even in their Life-time, their Sons to the Crown, either to regulate their Shares, or to secure the Crown within their Family: A Precaution which they would not have taken, if the Crown had fallen to them by an hereditary Right. He adds, That Carloman being dead, Charlemain, his Brother, was immediately chosen King by his Subjects, though the late King had left behind him some Children.

In a Word, Father Daniel cites the Charter of Division, which Charlemain made of his Dominions among his Three Sons, where are couched these Words, which the Author has taken care that they should be printed in large Letters; That one of the Princes has such a Son as the People would chuse to succeed to his Father's Dominions, Our Will is, says Charlemain, that his Two Uncles give their Confent to that Election, and that they let him reign in that Part of the State which his Father enjoyed for his Share. I allow those Objections, and I pretend to take my Proofs from them; and in order to follow in my Answers, the same Order which Father Daniel has observed, I would willingly ask him (who owns that the Crown was hereditary in the first Race) Whether it be possible to draw by plainer Confequences an Induction for the right of Succession in the Second Race, from the Partnership, or from the Division Pepin, Charlemain, and Lewis le Debonnaire, made of their Dominions, than from that same Partnership made, during the First Race, by Clotarius II. in Favour of King Dagobert, and by Dagobert, in Favour of his Son Sigebert? for my Part, I take the Parity to be intirely the same in the Examples drawn from the Two Races. As to the Subjects of Carloman, who, preferably to the Sons of that Prince, elected, after his Death, Charlemain for their King; This Objection is a Proof of of my System, and shews, that the Crown was both hereditary and elective at the same time; Hereditary, because it sell always to the Princes of the same Family, as during the First Race; and Elective, by Reason of the Right the People had reserved to themselves to chuse out of the Royal Family the Prince, who seemed the fittest to govern them; and the Subjects of Carloman did, in this, act agreeably to what the Family had done under the Kings

of the First Race, as we have seen above.

And this is even proved by the Charter of Charlemain, cited by Father Daniel in the Year 771. in which it appears, that that Prince, with the Confent of the great Men, having divided those great Provinces which composed his Empire, and which were so many Kingdoms, among his three Sons, Charles, Lewis, and Pepin; he adds, That if one of those Princes happen to die, and leaves behind him a Son whom the People are willing to chule to fucceed to his Father, his Uncles must not obstruct Quod si talis filius cuilibet istorum that Election. trium fratrum natus fuerit quem populus eligere voluerit, ut patri suo succedat in regni bereditate, volumus ut hoc consentiant patrui ipsius pueri. Charlemain does not fay, That if any of those Three Princes, his Sons, happens to die, and leave behind him some Children, the People shall have the Right to elect either one of the Sons of the late Prince, or fuch and fuch other Prince or Lord of the Nation; but he includes intirely the Right of Election within the Family of the deceased Prince. And in order to fet this Truth in its clearest Light, it will not beamiss to cite such another Charter of Lewis the Debonnaire, which confirms that of Charlemain, and which demonstrates, that by preserving the Crown in the same Family, the French had only reserved to themselves the Choice of the Prince whom they would obey. Lewis the Debonnaire in that Char-

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ter, of the Fourth Year of his Reign, declares, That his Subjects having represented to him, that in order to preserve Peace within his Dominions, and keep up a good Agreement among his Children, it was convenient to regulate in his Life-time, in what Provinces each of thole Princes should reign, according to the Practice of his Predecessors, De satu totius regni & de filiorum nostrorum causa, more parentum nostrorum, tractaremus: That Prince, truly pious, adds, That in order to prepare himself for fo great an Affair, which was of fo much Moment for the Tranquillity of the State, they should have Recourse to God by frequent Prayers, Alms and Fasting during Three Days; and that then, by a particular Intpiration from Heaven, the Wishes and Votes of the Nation might be agreeable to his Purposes, and might give him for his Partner and Successor to the Empire, his eldest Son, called Lotharius: Quibus rité per triduum celebratis jejuniis, nutu omnipotentis Dei, ut credimus, actum est ut & nostra & totius populi nostri in dilecti primogeniti nostri Clotarii electione vota concurrerent. This certainly is an Election made in due Form; and by Virtue of that Election, wherein there never was a Foreign Competitor, Prince Lotharius was crowned, and the Princes Pepin and Lewis, his Brothers, were declared Kings. Itaque aliter Divina dispensatione manifestatum placuit & nobis, & omni populo nostro more solemni Imperiali Diademate coronatum nobis & consortem & successorem Imperii. Si Dominus voluerit communi voto constitui cæteros verd fratres ejus Pipinum videlicet & Ludovicum æquivocum nostrum communi consilio sub seniore fratre Regali potestate potiantur; and they give for Subjects to Pepin, the People of Aquitania and Gascony; and to Lervis, the Bavarians, Bohemians, Sclavi, and other German People. And by a folemn Actit was ordered, That in case one of the Kings should die, and leave behind

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hind him lawful Children, the Dominions of the deceased King should not be subdivided, but that the People being met together, should chuse for King, him of his Sons whom God would be pleafed to direct to them, and that his eldest Uncle should be to him as a Father and Brother; and that, being placed on the Throne, he should exactly observe this Imperial Constitution: And asto the Brothers of the new elected King, they should be kindly used, and with the Respect which the Nation has always had for the Sons of Kings. verò aliquis illorum decedens legitimos filios reliquerit, non inter eos potestas ipsa dividatur, sed potius populus pariter conveniens unum ex iis quem Dominus voluerit eligat, & hunc senior frater in loco fratris & filii suscipiat, & honore paterno sublimato hanc constitutionem erga illum modis omnibus conservet. De cæteris verd liberis pio amore pertractet, qualiter eos more parentum nostrorum salvent, & eum consilio babeant.

Now I leave it to the Readers to decide which of the Two Systems these Two Charters, which are to be looked upon as authentick Laws, do savour. Father Daniel pretends, That the Election was open to every body; and I affert, and not without good Reasons, as I think, that this Election concerned solely the Princes of the Royal Blood; and my Opinion is grounded on the Authority of that Charter, which does not say, That the French People, instead of the deceased Prince, are obliged to elect whomsoever he thought sit, but only one

of the King's Sons, unum ex eis.

To this Restriction, made solely for the Sake of the Royal Family, Father Daniel opposeth the Example of one Bozon, Brother to Richilde, Wise to Charles the Bald, who, in a Council held at Mantale in Dauphiné, in 879, caused himself to be elected King of Arles and Provence; That Example, says he, a little while after, was imitated by Rodolph

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dolph Duke of Burgundy Transjurana. By all these Examples it is visible, adds the Reverend Father, that the French Empire, under the Second Race,

was no longer looked upon as hereditary.

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No, not by Rebels and Usurpers, such as Bozon, and those of his Party were. For there was then in France a King who was alive, and though the Crown had been elective, by what Right could Bozon cause himself to be elected King of Arles, during the Reign of Lewis the Stammerer, who had been acknowledg'd and crowned King of France? Wherefore Lewis and Carloman, Sons of the Stammerer, made so cruel a War against that Usurper, that they drove him away from that new usurped 'Tis true that Lewis, Son of Bozon, maintained himself after his Father's Death, in some Places of Provence; but he did not take the Name of King. That pretended Kingdom fell afterwards into Pieces, by the Usurpation made by the Governors of the Towns of several Counties: The Empire had afterwards its Share of it; But what can all that prove, unless that the Government was then fo weak, that there rose up very often some domeflick Rebels and Tyrants, who being unfaithful to their Kings, seized on the Dominion of the Provinces and Towns, whose Government had been intrusted to them?

But, says Father Daniel, it is so true, that the Crown was elective under that Second Race, that after the Death of Lewis and Carloman, Sons to the Stammerer, the French did not appoint the Crown to Charles the Simple, their Brother, and Posthumus Son of the Stammerer; but set it on the Head of Charles, Sirnamed the Fat, Emperor and Son of

the Germanick.

I do readily own the Truth of the Matter, and the French did not do, in this, any thing different from what they had practifed many Times during

the

the first Race. 'Tis true, they did not set on the Throne Charles III. though he was Brother to the Two late Kings, which shews, that in this Second Race no Regard was had either to the Rank or Degree of Birth, as M. Des Tuilleries pretends. But we must also consider the Condition France was then That Kingdom was ravaged by the Normans, and there rose up every Day some Rebels, who, under Pretence of securing themselves from the Incursions of those Barbarians, fortified their Castles, and assumed a total Independency from the Government. In order to drive back the Northern Barbarians, and to force most of the French Lords to obey, a powerful King was necessary. Charles III. or the Simple, was then but a little above Seven Years old: Wherefore, in fo difficult a Situation, they gave the Crown to Charles the Fat, who was Emperor, and of the Blood of Charlemain. The Crown was no less hereditary in the same Family, and the French, on that Occasion, did but make use of the Right they had to chuse out of the same Family, the Prince who seemed to them the fittest to govern them, without having any regard to the Birth-right of each Branch, or to the Degree in the same Line. That is very well, may Father Daniel fay, but that this System might be well established, it would be requisite that this elective Inheritance, if I may call it fo, should never go out of the Carlian Family. But most certain it is, that Eudes, Robert, and Raoul, were not of that illustrious Family, and nevertheless they have been crowned Kings of France, and have reigned as such; from whence that Author draws this Confequence, which is agreeable to his System, viz. That the Crown was then, and in that Second Race, merely elective, and that the French did set on the Throne such a Lord of the Nation as they would have for their King,

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The first Example, which is objected to us, is that of Eudes, Son of Robert the Strong, to whom the French gave the august Title of King, though he was not of the Royal Blood. But that pretended King was but the Guardian of the true one; and for the Explanation of this Truth, it must be known, That Charles the Simple was yet Minor: That in this Second Race, and even to the Third Race, the Princes who were Minors, were not called Kings, 'till after the Ceremony of their Co-Again it must be observed, that France was continually ravaged by Multitudes of Barbarians, and that, in order to oppose the Incursions of those Northern People, the Name of King must be given to the Regent, in order to give him more Authority, and that, without that Title, the Chief Men, who begun to change their Governments into feodal Dominions, would not have received Orders from a private Lord, and who would have been but their Equal.

And what I fay of this Regent, which they thought fit, in such hard Circumstances, to invest with the Title of a King, is grounded on the Authority of Aimoin, or of his Continuator; Two contemporary Authors, who expresly relate this in 1.5.c. 42. Carolus, qui simplex posted dictus est, in cunis ævum agens patre orbatus remansit, cujus ætatem Franciæ primores incongruam, ut erat, exercendæ dominationis arbitrati, maxime cum jam recidivi Normanorum nuntiarentur motus, consilium de summis ineunt rebus; supererant autem duo filii Roberti comitis Andegavorum qui fuit Saxonici generis vir; senior Odo dicebatur, Robertus alter patrem nomine referens. Ex his majorem natu Odonem, Franci, Burgundiones, Aquitaniensesque Proceres congregati in unum licet reluctantem tutorem Caroli pueri regnique eligere guber-

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natorem, quem unxit Gualterius archiepiscopus Senonum. qui mente benignus & reipublicæ bostes arcendo strenuè præfuit, parvulum optime fouit, eique semper extitit fidelis, quo obeunte recipit regnum Garolus puer qui vo-

cabatur simplex, filius Ludovici.

By this Passage of Aimoin's Continuator, 'tis apparent, that the Matter was only about a Regent. Charles the Simple, and Eudes, do not stand in Competition for the Crown in the same Election. Eudes does not get the better preferably to Charles; he is only appointed Guardian to that young Prince; He takes a great Care of him, fays the Historian, and These Words are not was always faithful to him. fit Expressions to denote a King of France. And Charles was no fooner in a Capacity to reign, than the Regent resigned to him the Administration of his Dominions, and by an Agreement made among themselves, he retired into the Provinces on theother Side of the Loire: The Emperor Arnold, who kept a strict Alliance with Eudes, seemed to be angry that Charles was fet on the Throne during Eudes's Life, and he wrote a long Letter about it to Foulks Archbishop of Rheims, wherein he complains, that he had consecrated Charles the Simple, without acquainting him with it. That Prelateanfwered him by three Arguments. 1. That Eudes was a Stranger in the Royal Family, qui ab stirpe regià existens alienus; an Argument that a Man must be of the Royal Blood in order to be acknowledged true King. 2. When Eudes was intrusted with the Administration of the State, they did not think fit to elect young Charles for King, because of the War that was to be waged against the Normans. In a Word, he declares to the Emperor, That the Custom of the French Nation was, that the great Men, without any Influence from any-body, did chuse a Prince of the Royal Family, to succeed the deceased King. * Morem Francorum gentis asserit cutos se dente al vel inte regni el

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Therefore, according to that Contemporary Historian, the Kings under the Second Race were to be taken out of the Royal Family; alium de stirpe regia eligerent. He does not say the Sons of the late King, filios; nor the eldest Son, primogenitum, as M. Des Tuilleries says; but only alium de stirperegià. If a Man was of the Royal Blood, it was sufficient for him to be elected King; and that Condition, to be of the Royal Blood, was so absolutely requisite, that Robert, Eudes's Brother, having possessed himfelf of Aquitain and Burgundy, whose Government his Brother had referved to himself; when Charles the Simple assum'd the Reins of the Administration, the same Historian calls him a Rebel, and an Usur-Rebellavit Robertus princeps contrà Carolum Simplicem, & quia ei pars regiminis quam Germanus uus Odo Francorum rex tenuit, non redhibebatur, palam tyrannidem invasit, quo magis cupiens eandem tyrannidem exercere, à quibusdam episcopis diademate se regio coronari ac sceptro insigniri ac inungi, partimblanditis, partim minis extorfit.

But that imaginary Royalty, and that real Rebellion, were extinguished by the Blood of Robert, who, the same Year, was killed in a Battle by the Troops of King Charles the Simple; a Caroli ducibus

interfectus eft.

Nevertheless the Usurper's Death, did not break the Measures of his Party: The Conspirators surprized King Charles, and shut him up in Prison, and placed in his room, Rodolph Duke of Burgundy; whilst the young Lewis, Son to the unfortune Charles, escaped into England, to the King of that Na-

^{*} Flod. Hift. Eccles. Rhem. lib, 4. c. 5.

tion, who was his Uncle. The Absence of the laws ful Heir, did not hinder most of the Provinces, still to look upon the Burgundian as an Usurper; and in the Second Tome of the History of the House of Auvergene, * there's an Act taken out of the Rc. gifter Book of the Monastery of Brioude in Auvergne, wherein the Date is not let down according to the Years of the Reign of Robert, as it was customary in those Days to date Deeds by the Years of the King's Reign; but there's this Date; "Done the Fitth Day " before the Ides of October, the Fourth Year fince " Charles, King, has been degraded by the French, " and Rodolph Elected against the Laws." Those Laws did then require, that a Prince must be of the Royal Blood, if he pretended to become King. And in the last Will of Dacfred Duke of Aquitain, are these Words, Done the Fifth Year since the French did degrade King Charles, and elected, against the Laws, Rodolph for King. M. Baluze, to whom we are beholden for this Act, also tells us, in his Notes on the Supplement to Capitularies, Tom. 1. p. 1535. That after the Death of Charles the Simple, they only dated the First, Second, or Third Year, from the Death of Charles, Jesus Christ reigning, in Expectation of the lawful King; Christo regnante, & regem expectante.

That King, who was so impatiently expected, was no other than young Lewis, commonly called by Historians, Lewis d'Outremer, who came again into France after Rodolph's Death. He was elected, says the Monk Glaber, a Contemporary Author, by all the Great Men, to reign over them by the Hereditary

Right he had to the Crown.

Totius regni Primates eligerunt Ludovicum, filium videlicet prædicti regis Caroli, ungentes eum super se regem hereditario jure regnaturum. This and of what we there we Right I and the and tak

Men of Such Race, a pretend the Sec all the A according to the would be prived Crown How c Governit be per such as the prived covernit be per such as the per

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^{*} See in the fame Volume the Register-Book of Saucillage-This

This fole Passage, which is so much to the purpose, and of a Contemporary Author, is sufficient to prove what we have alledged, viz. That in the same Prince there were two Rights confounded; the Hereditary Right he had to the Crown, by his Family and Birth; and the Right he actually had to ascend the Throne, and take Possession thereof, by the Election the Great Men of the State had made of him for their King.

Such has been the Custom in the First and Second Race, and I would willingly ask Father Daniel, who pretends, that there was no Hereditary Succession in the Second Race, and that the Election was open to all the French Lords; Whether those Lords, who, according to those Historians, were likely to see the fift Crown of the Christian World pass successively into their Families: Whether, I say, those Lords would have so quietly suffered themselves to be deprived of so great an Advantage, by rendring the Crown hereditary in the fole House of Hugh Capet? How could so great a Change in the Form of the Government happen without Opposition? And can the possible, that all the Contemporary Historians hould have agreed to suppress a Matter of so great Importance?

On the contrary, What happened under the Reign of Robert, the second King of the Third Race, clearly demonstrates, that the same Principle of Government, and the same Laws, were yet in use at the

Beginning of that Third Race.

Robert Son of Hugh Capet, having been, by the Consent of the Chief Men of the State, affociated by his Father to the Crown, did think fit to transmit it in his Life-time, with the Consent of the ame Lords, to his eldest Son called Robert; but that young Prince dying soon after his Inauguration, the King, says Glaber, who had yet three Sons alive, began to consider with himself, which of those three

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Princes would be the fittest to succeed him; Post cujus obitum capit iterum idem rex tractare qui potissimum filius post se regnare deberet. Therefore the Crown was not Elective for all the Great Men of the State, as Father Daniel pretends; and that Crown did not necessarily belong to the eldest Son of the Royal Family, as M. Des Tuilleries afferts; for if the Electors and Great Men were obliged to prefer the eldest Son, it was in vain for the King to exa. mine which of his Three Sons was the most worthy to wear the Crown. But what follows will render this Way of arguing stronger, and, I dare

fay, more demonstrative.

The King, after several Reflections, decided the Matter in favour of Henry, the eldest of his Sons; but, unhappily for that young Prince, he was hated by Queen Constance his Mother, who was a stubborn and obstinate Princess, and pretended, that her Will should be a Law to her Husband. She was continually discrediting her eldest Son, reprefenting him as a Man who was a Dissembler, Weak, Base, Effeminate; and the joth Epistle of Fulbert (from which I take all this) declares, That she liberally gave all the contrary Vertues to her youngest Son; and that a great many Bishops and Lords, then me to please her, and to ingratiate themselves into her sembly Esteem, did speak the same Language: Quem Henricum dicunt simulatorem esse segnem, mollem in negligendo jure patrissaturum, fratre verò juniori attribuentes
bis contraria. But in spight of those salse Reports,
the Party of Henry being still superior, by reason of
the Desire his Father had that he should be his Successor, the Queen and her Adherents, at least begged, as our Historian says, (who was a Contemporary Author) that nothing should be decided about
this Affair during the King's Life-time, because
they firmly believed, that after the King's Death,
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Est autem (fays a Courtier to Fulbert Bishop of Chartres, Est autem) hæc eorum ad componendam uwinque litem sententia, patre vivente nullum regem sibi geari; which is an unexceptionable Argument: 1. for if That in the Beginning of this Third Race, the Election was yet used, but only amongst the Sons of the Kings, as in the Two former Races. would have been very needless to examine, which of the three Sons of Robert did most deserve to rign, if an invariable Custom, as M. Des Tuilleries pretends, had necessarily determined the Electors Choice in Favour of the Eldest Son of the Royal family. Lastly, The Proposal made by the Queen's Party, viz. to put off the Election till after the King's Death, does clearly prove, that the Crown was not destinated to the eldest Son alone: For if that had been the Case, the Election was needless, and the Assembly was, at the most, only necessary o declare the Right which accrued to him by the

Weak, Fulbert Privilege of his Birth.

But the King, in order to prevent a Civil War, which he feared this Competition among his Chilber ben might cause after his Death, convok'd an Astembly of the Great Men at Rheims, where Prince mem Henry was crowned. Coadunatis denique rex metropolism neglineglineglineglinemis Regni primatibus, stabilivit regni corone Henricum mem delegerat: And the King's Choice, supported proports, by the Consent of the Great Men, says Glaber, did that young Prince on the French Throne. Henry, and all the first Kings of that Race, Philip I. the being excepted, in order to avoid the Dissentions which are common in Elections, always, even in dabout their Life-time, caused their eldest Sons to be Concecause because her as Philip II. Henry, of whom we dream own speaking, did assemble, as Mezeray says, the Great

Great Men of the Kingdom, and having told them what Services he had done to the State, and how happy he had been in the Command of the Armies, he defired them all in general, and every one in particular, to acknowledge his eldeft Son Philip for his Successor, and to take their Oath to be faithful to him: And all of them having promifed it, he had him Crowned at Rheims. These Associations to the Crown, established the Right of the eldest Sons in the reigning Family, and intirely abolished the Right of Election; insomuch, that from the Year 1180. when Philip began to reign, the Crown seemed so well settled on the Heads of that Posterity of Hugh Capet, that such a provident Care was thought needless, and the Succesfion to the Crown, in the eldest Sons of each Line, became an inviolable Law, and fuch as it is even now observed, from above 700 Years.

We have seen in the first Part of this Discourse, That the Crown was constantly Hereditary in the Merovigean Family, and that all the Princes his Descendants, did succeed one another until Childeric III. for the Space of above 300 Years. And we have seen at the same Time, sometimes but one Prince upon the Throne, against the Pretensions of his Brothers, as Dagobert I. Clotarius III. Thieris, and sometimes the Monarchy divided betwixt several Brothers, as it happened after the Death of Clovis, and Clotarius; and sometimes Princes of a remote Branch, preferred to the Sons of the late King: All these Examples do at the same Time prove, that the Crown under that first Race, was Hereditary, as to the reigning Family, and Elective

as to the several Princes of that Family.

Likewise in what I have related concerning the second Race, the same Form of Government may have been observed, viz. That Charlemain, and

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Carloman his Brother, did succeed to Pepin, and Charlemain after Carloman's Death, was by his Subjects preferred to the Children of their King. And if some Usurpers do seize upon the Throne; if Robert and Rodolph cause themselves to be Crowned; that is no better Precedent, than to see Gondebold, called Ballomer, rifen upon a great Shield during the first What Nation is there, where the lawful Power has not fuffered some Eclipse? But those Clouds foon vanish away: The lawful Heir is called out of England, and he is Elected, fays History, to reign Which feems to be a Paby an hereditary Right. radox, but which is illustrated by the Rights which our Kings had equally from their Royal Birth, and from the Choice of the Nation.

In a Word, 'tis visible, that from the Beginning of the Monarchy, if we except two Usurpers, no French nor Foreign Lord did ever stand as a Competitor in those Elections; which proves, as I think, the hereditary Succession in the reigning Family. And the last Example of Robert Duke of Burgundy, who being affifted by the Interest of his Mother, disputed the Crown with his eldest Brother Henry, shews, that the Election in the Beginning of this Third Race, was yet in use, though there were but two Princes, and two Sons of the King who flood Competitors for the Crown. But ever fince that Time, i. e. from 1032, when Henry I. ascended the Throne, the Crown always devolved, by a full Right, to the eldest Prince of the reigning Line; and the youngest of the same Line, or the oldest Princes of the youngest Branch, from above 700 Years, did never shew the least Claim to the Crown; 'Tis to this Epocha, as I think, that we must keep close, when the Question is about the fundamental Laws of the State above that Time, i. e. under the first and lecond Race of our Kings. By refuming the Thing

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fo high, we are exposed to find some contrary Maxims and Examples. And I do even think that it may be said, That each Dynasty, and each reigning Family, has had its different Form of Government: What has been done in those so remote Times, does not concern us, but as much as it is authorized by the Laws and the Practice of the third Race, which is the only certain and constant Rule of Government.

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